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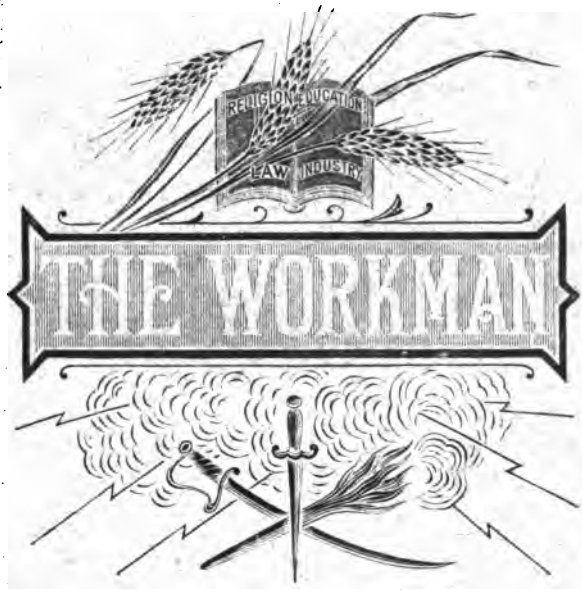

His False Friends and His True Friends.

BY REV. J. P. THOMPSON, D. D., LL.D.

THE WORKMAN:

HIS FALSE FRIENDS

AND

HIS TRUE FRIENDS.

BY

REV. JOS. P. THOMPSON, D. D., LL. D.

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY,

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THE WORKMAN.

CHAPTER I.

THE WORKMAN AND HIS WANTS.

In May, 1871, the world was startled by the report that Paris was in flames. The fire was not kindled by the shells of the German artillery, for the city had capitulated and the war was over. It was neither accident, nor private malice, nor the recklessness and confusion consequent upon war, that caused this great disaster. The public buildings of Paris, her palaces, museums, theatres, halls of legislation and of justice, were set on fire by an organized band of her own citizens, chiefly workmen, who had saturated the buildings with petroleum in order to make their destruction sure. These incendiaries were not a mob, nor simply a conspiracy; they took the place and the functions of a government. During the terrible days of the

siege, a common danger held the citizens of Paris together under such forms of law and order as were dictated by necessity. But with the capitulation of the city the very semblance of authority seemed to vanish, and for weeks anarchy, dealing fire and slaughter, was the only power which Paris knew. This power took the name of the *Commune.* Its purpose was to destroy every vestige, work, and monument of former governments, to efface all distinctions of property and of society, and to set up in France a system of local or communal administration based upon the equal distribution of property, and the recognition of Labor as having the first claim upon the thought and care of civil government. The work of destruction was not simply an act of revenge, nor of warning; it was to prepare the foundations for a socialistic community, and was a type of the spirit of Communism toward all private interests and all vested rights. A measure so desperate shows how deep was the sense of wrong in the workmen who took part in it; a measure so wicked and so cowardly shows how false and blind was the notion by which those workmen were misled. However great their wrongs, the remedy was a still greater wrong.

In the summer of 1877 the world was again

startled by the news that the great lines of railway in the United States had been seized by the workmen employed upon them, that rails had been torn up, station-houses destroyed, locomotives disabled, and all traffic brought to a stand. After an immense loss to the community through the interruption of trade and travel, and by the damages consequent upon the wanton destruction of railroad property, this gigantic conspiracy of Labor against property and law was put down by military power. I call it a conspiracy; for this was not simply a strike by a class of workmen for higher wages in their department, nor a sudden outbreak of violence under a sense of injustice; it was an organized demonstration of laboring men against corporations and capital, and against the community which creates corporations and protects capital by its laws. The attack on the railroads in the United States was prompted by the same motive which actuated the Commune in setting fire to Paris—to assert for workmen the right of control in society and in the state; and the methods by which that right was asserted were the same—destruction and terror.

Still once more, on the 11th of May, 1878, the world was startled by an attempt to assassinate the Emperor of Germany; and the repetition of that

attempt on the 3d of June—which came so near being fatal—produced, not alone in Germany, but in many other countries, a painful sense of uneasiness at some new peril to society. For both these assassins were Socialists; and while it would not be just to charge their crime upon the body which acts and votes under this name, yet Hödel and Nobiling attempted to carry out the doctrine of the Socialists, that the interests of workmen demand the overthrow of all existing forms of law and order in human society. The burning of public buildings in Paris, the destruction of railroads in America, the shooting at the Emperor of Germany, were all the deeds of men who professed to have in view the deliverance of workmen from want, and the reorganization of society for the equal benefit of all its members. The want may be real, the aim may be good, but surely every workman who has not lost his moral sense and his common sense together, will be shocked at the idea that his want is to be relieved, his welfare to be secured, by means of arson, robbery, and murder. *Something* must be wrong in a system or a theory which seeks its ends, or makes them known, by such methods.

For this is not a case of political revolution, in which the people rise to throw off the yoke of a

tyrant or an aristocracy. These conspiracies and outrages take place in what is known as free society; in countries which have already a national life, which have equal laws, and parliaments, and popular suffrage, and legal and constitutional ways of redressing evils and promoting reforms. Such attacks upon property and life in the name of Labor, are assaults upon human society itself. Should Socialism or Communism succeed, it would produce a state of things in which no workman could live. A theory of society which writes itself in lines of fire and blood can have nothing but mischief and terror for honest men, who would earn competence and security by the work of their hands.

As a rule, the workman is not an enemy to society and government, and society cannot afford to be, and in America has no desire to be, hostile to the workman. Every intelligent workman knows that his chances of success in life are far better in a state of peace, order, and stability, than in times of confusion and violence. And if he thinks far enough, he will see that it would be a fatal calamity to him and his family if a feeling of insecurity should cause Capital to shrink from investment in active works of industry. For what are the wants of the workman, and how shall those wants be sat-

isfied? I say, the wants of the *workman.* For the man who wishes to live without labor—with no useful occupation for head or hand—there is no proper place in civilized society. He should betake himself to the wild Indians of the West, to the South Sea Islands, or to the heart of Africa. But there he would find in famine, in war, in climate, in savage men and beasts, more pressing cares and trials than all that a life of labor could bring. But the man who is able and willing to work has one honest wish—to get the greatest amount of material good with the least expenditure of labor. He does not simply ask "fair wages for fair work;" he wishes to get the most and give the least. There can be no objection to this aim, provided one seeks it only by honest means. True, as a rule of life, this is far from being noble or generous. That workman is worth much more to himself and to the world who, instead of saying, "The world owes me a living," says, "My labor is necessary and useful to the comfort, if not to the life of mankind, and I will do my best to make my work contribute in some way to the general good, asking only my just share of its proceeds." But that sort of Socialism or of Communism which would move each man to do his part in working for the good of all is as yet

too rare to be held up as an example! I content myself with taking the average want of the average man—to get the most material good with the least outlay of work; and to this I see no objection upon either moral, political, or economical grounds, if the desire be carried out honestly. Most heartily do I share this wish for every workman.

A certain amount of labor—some sort of daily work—is good for every man in his mental and moral, as well as in his physical being. But the sooner he can supply his daily wants, and the more he can gain of material good by a given outlay of time, thought, and strength, the better will he be able to give himself to his own higher improvement and to the advancement of human society. For the right use of his means and leisure he alone would be responsible. But since much gain from little work would put the workman in position to make the most of himself and his life, I wish him this with all my heart, and am sure that every fair-minded man will do the same. No one could object to the workman getting the greatest good possible for the least actual work. How to do this is the question.

But just here two things must be kept in mind: 1. All that the workman gets by his labor is his;

and his aim in working is to get something for himself. It does not matter whether this comes in the form of direct wages for his own work, or is apportioned to him as his share of a joint-labor association, or is granted by the government to him as a citizen. When it comes into his hands it is his own; and his idea of the rights of labor can be met only by recognizing his right as a person to the fruit of his labor. The first want of the workman as a man must be satisfied by treating him as an individual who is entitled to have and to hold something as his own, apart from all others.

2. This getting is possession; and possession is property; and property, whether in money, or in goods which may be turned into money, may at any time serve the workingman as capital, by which to get more gain with less work. Property, money, capital, will all be treated of more fully in subsequent chapters. But I wish here to give emphasis to the fact that every step of the workman towards his own ideal of the most good with the least labor, is and must be in the line of personal independence and individual right in the possession of property, and so of capital. Hence, when Socialism and Communism assail Capital, and deny any individual property in things, they assail and resist the work-

man at his first want and his constant endeavor, namely, to get the most out of the world by doing the least in and for the world. It is not property and capital, but the spirit of Socialism which would rob the workman of the labor of his hands, and for ever hinder him from attaining the good of which he is capable. Now it is for the good of society that each workman should get by his labor all that he honestly can; hence I would not suffer him to be cheated out of his own, either by the men of no work or by a government that should set up a monopoly of all work.

But *how* shall the workman get what he wants? To his right as a man to the largest possible return for his labor no one with right or reason can object. Every just man, every wise statesman, every true friend of society, would gladly help the workman to attain this object, at least by removing the artificial obstructions which time, power, or unjust laws, customs, and institutions may have heaped in his path.

But there are two obstacles to the full and equal success of every workman which neither good wishes, good laws, nor good government can remove or always modify. The first obstacle lies in the "laws of trade." These will be considered in detail hereafter. But just here it must be said that they are

not "laws" which governments can make and unmake. They grow out of the nature of things, and human legislation can no more control them than it can control the winds and the tides.

The other obstacle lies in the selfishness of human nature. The action of selfishness upon society may be curbed by legislation, by combination, and by public opinion; but the spirit of selfishness must be taken into account as a permanent factor in human society under all forms and conditions. This cannot be ruled, voted, nor barred out of the world. And there is just as much native selfishness in workmen as in other men. What workman, while seeking for himself the most gain for the least labor, is willing that all other men, of whatever race or color, should do the same in competition with himself? or that any others should get on faster and better than he does by working cheaper than himself at his own trade? So long as these two obstacles remain, it will not be possible by any change of laws, of customs, nor of society itself, fully to satisfy the workman and his wants. Like other men, he must learn to adapt himself to the laws of nature, and to conquer human selfishness as best he may. In this he may have both help and hope.

CHAPTER II.

LABOR.

We hear continually of the rights of Labor, of the claims of Labor upon society and government, of Labor as opposed to Capital and to corporations; yet through all these discussions and demands about Labor, there is a general vagueness as to what the rights of Labor are, whence those rights are derived, and how they are to be maintained. Now where a right is in question, it is of the first importance that the right itself be clearly defined, as to its nature, its origin, its extent, and its relation to other existing or possible rights or duties. In every discussion definition is one-half the argument. What then is Labor?

Every man has an absolute right to his own brain and his own hands. His brain to think, to plan, to will, his hand to execute—these are exclusively his own. Outside of the man are Things, which go under the general name of Nature. By the action of his brain and his hands, man can change the forms and relations of things in order

to adapt them to his own use; and the exertion which he puts forth for this purpose is *labor.*

Labor may be of the mind, or of the body, or of both. The labor of the brain in study, in science, in invention, in producing and arranging thought so that it shall be instructive, useful, pleasing, is more exhausting to the vital powers of the body than any purely physical exertion which can be put forth in the same time. Indeed physical labor may tend to develop and strengthen the bodily powers, whereas mental labor is simply and always exhausting not only to the brain as its organ, but to the vitality of the whole body. Hence if there is any labor which deserves to be paid in proportion to the exertion put forth in producing a good result, it is the labor of the brain. But what we now have to do with is chiefly the labor of the hands—physical labor, with so much of thought and skill as is necessary to make this productive of the best results. All such labor is *the exertion of human powers put forth upon things.* But the quality of labor does not lie in the amount of exertion, in the strength or time actually expended on the thing, but in the *use to which the thing is fitted* by this exertion. A man who should heap up stones all day, then lay them apart the day after, only to heap

them up again on the third day, though making a great outlay of strength, could not claim a compensation for his labor; for this is not labor in the sense of making things useful. For such aimless, useless expenditure of time and strength there is no market and can be no reward. But should the man help to gather stones where they were wanted for the purpose of building a wall or making a road, then his labor would be entitled to a reward because of the good use which it had served. Labor is *that exertion of man's powers which adapts things to some want, taste, or desire in man.* Only by bringing things into value does labor acquire a value of its own.

But here we must guard against the mistake that all the value of things is derived from labor. The Social Democrats of Germany, at their convention at Gotha in 1875, laid down as the foundation of their platform the declaration that "Labor is the source of all riches and of all culture." And it is a common axiom in political economy that labor creates value. But a moment's thought will show that this estimate of labor requires to be qualified by the nature of things. A man goes into a field and picks a white downy substance, which he then cleans and applies to various uses as raw cot-

ton. Another takes this raw material, spins it, weaves it, and produces cloth. At each step, picking, cleaning, spinning, weaving, the value of the cotton is enhanced by labor. But was there no value in the cotton? Suppose the first laborer had picked thistle-down instead of cotton pods? A man picks up two stones, of like size and appearance, lying side by side. He bestows upon each the same amount of labor in cutting and polishing; the one turns out to be a plain bit of quartz, the other a diamond of the first water. Is there no value in the diamond but what has been imparted to it by labor? Often indeed a thing has its chief value from the labor bestowed upon it, as for instance a bit of lace or of wood-carving; but quite as often labor has served mainly to bring out the value of the substance wrought upon. Hence, labor is not the sole creator of value, "the source of all wealth." The laborer does a vast deal to make the world other than it could be without him; but things were in the world before him, and his work is to bring things into value. Hence, in judging of the worth of an article, we must take into account both the material as adapted in itself for the use of man, and the skill and labor expended in bringing the material to its present condition of use. So long

as the material remains untouched by labor it may have no *appreciable* value; but in its capacity of satisfying human wants under the manipulation of human power and ingenuity, it has a *potential* value, which can be measured only by the extent and variety of the uses to which it may be put, and by the relative scarceness of the material itself. Take for instance caoutchouc. For ages this elastic gum had oozed from the tropical forests of Asia and of South America without being of the least use to man. Still it possessed all that capacity for usefulness which labor has now brought out. By degrees the natives of the tropics found that India-rubber could be used for shoes, for bottles, for making cloth waterproof, and for effacing marks and stains. At last the scientific labor of Goodyear—a labor that cost him all his property and nearly cost him his life—succeeded in vulcanizing rubber, and now it is used to serve man in almost every capacity from the cradle to the grave. Labor brought this simple product of nature, this free native gum, into universal value by developing its properties of usefulness. Labor brought out the value of India-rubber; labor enhanced its value; but labor cannot pretend to have created the value there is in the gum itself as provided by nature with its wonderful

qualities of elasticity, of resistance to water, and of both toughness and pliableness under heat. All authorities agree in defining *value* as the quality or property of a thing which renders it useful, or "the capability which a thing has of producing some good." Hence he who is in possession of a thing which in its own nature is capable of being made useful, of satisfying some want or desire of his fellow-men, may justly set a value upon the material itself before it has been touched by the hand of labor; it may be the tree in the forest, the stone in the quarry, the ore in the mine, the cotton pod. After labor has made the material available for the service of man, the value of the whole product is represented by the quality of usefulness in the substance, *plus* the labor employed in making the thing of actual use. This value there is in things apart from labor is of great importance to the question of property to be examined hereafter.

In considering labor in relation to value, the practical question arises, How shall we fix the value of any given kind or amount of labor? Every man has a right to set his own price upon his labor. Since he owns himself and is sole master of the natural powers which he puts forth in labor, he can declare absolutely the terms upon which he is will-

ing to work, and refuse to accept any other. But, on the other hand, every other man has an equal right to fix the terms on which he will employ this independent workman, or buy the products of his labor. For every man is the sole and absolute judge of his own wants and desires, and of what it would be worth to *him* to have those wants and desires satisfied. The workman naturally wishes to sell his labor or its product at the highest rate, the buyer to buy it at the lowest. But the buyer has no right nor power to compel the workman to part with his labor for less than he thinks it to be worth; and the workman has no right nor power to compel the buyer to give more for any work or thing than he thinks it would be worth to him. But here a new element comes in. Another workman is willing to do the same work or to produce the same article for a less price; or another buyer, having greater need of the work or the thing, is willing to pay more to secure it. Hence a comparison or competition of demands on the one hand, and of desires on the other, brings about an average of value, which is *what this will procure of other values in exchange*, or in homely phrase, for practical purposes, "a thing is worth what it will fetch." Hence the value of labor is its purchasing or procuring

power—what the workman can get of the products of other men's labor, or its equivalent in money, in exchange for his own labor. This is the market value, or the exchangeable value of labor, as of any other commodity. In this sense the value cannot be fixed by the seller nor by the buyer, but fixes itself by a general law of average, which varies with the times. But this average valuation of labor by the market is so unsatisfactory to the workman, and often to the buyer, that many schemes have been proposed for establishing for labor a fixed remuneration, at a rate that should secure to every workman the means of living in comfort and above the fear of want. As yet no such scheme has been found practicable. I shall not presume to offer a solution of this complicated problem, which now presses everywhere upon human society; but by examining carefully the various methods of rating labor, shall hope to contribute something toward the solution which philosophy and philanthropy must find at no distant day.

All methods of rating labor with a view to some standard of value may be reduced to these seven:

1. The needs of the workman.
2. The wants of the buyer.
3. Coöperation among workmen.

4. Association or partnership between Labor and Capital.

5. Legislation on the relations of Labor and Capital.

6. Communism or Socialism in the administration of the State.

7. The spirit of equity, and especially of Christianity, in the intercourse and dealings of all classes and all members of human society.

From a business point of view, the first two of these are natural standards of value; the remaining five are conventional methods of providing an artificial standard.

1. The needs of the workman furnish the lowest valuation of his work which is admissible on his side. If he must work in order to live, it is equally true that he must live in order to work. Hence his material support, the necessaries of life, in food, clothing, home, must be taken as the very lowest equivalent for the work of his hands. These data are fundamental and indispensable on the workman's side of the problem of labor. He could not go below these and have his proper value as a man. But he ought not to be content, we cannot ask him to be content, with the bare necessaries of life—a mere physical subsistence—as the return for his

labor. His labor represents himself, and if he is worth anything, he ought to be worth more than this. As a man, he has mental, social, moral needs. He should have means of knowledge; in due time he should have means to marry; above the necessaries of life he should have comforts, and above comforts the means of culture. While a bare subsistence is the lowest natural standard of valuation which the workman could accept, a standard upon which he must insist as a primary basis of value for his work, yet he cannot be content with this; and there must be something wrong in a state of society in which the utmost exertions of the workman can procure for him nothing more than a bare living from hand to mouth. It is the duty of society, and especially of Christian men, to search out and correct this grievous wrong.

2. The wants of the buyer furnish to him the highest standard by which he would naturally appraise the labor of the workman. Not what the article has cost the workman in time and strength, but what it is worth to himself for use or gratification, is the buyer's measure of value. Where the article would simply gratify a taste or a desire, the buyer may set upon it a fancy value, according to his wealth or his whim. But where it is for some

necessary use, his valuation will be determined by the pressure of that necessity and by his opportunities of satisfying his want. It should be remembered, too, that quite often the buyer is himself a workman, who has nothing but his own labor to set off against the labor of another workman. If he makes hats and wishes a pair of shoes, he will try to sell hats as dearly and buy shoes as cheaply as possible. When the workman is a buyer, he does not stop to ask what would be a fair compensation to the workman who has made the thing he wants, but he buys wherever he can get what he wants at the lowest price—the cheaper the better—not caring whether the price is a sufficient recompense to the maker or not. His personal wants, not the needs of another workman, are now his measure of value. This is far from the Golden Rule of Christianity. In a moral point of view it is not to be commended as a just line of conduct. But it is the rule that all men naturally act upon. Indeed, the same man may have two different standards of value—the one as buyer, the other as seller—to buy as cheaply as possible, to sell as dearly as possible. These rules have their origin in human nature and in the nature of things; and these are the only natural standards of value. In the long run they equalize one anoth-

er; but they will influence human conduct while the world shall stand.

Coöperation may do something to harmonize these conflicting standards; and the partnership of Labor and Capital may do more. Legislation and Communism can do nothing to change these natural standards of value. A standard of value that shall be just alike to all classes of men and all interests of society is to be reached only through the spirit of equity regulating the intercourse of life, and preëminently through the spirit of Christianity, whose rule for each and every man is one and the same: THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF.

CHAPTER III.

PROPERTY AND CAPITAL.

THE terms Property and Capital are often used as synonymous; but in reality Property includes Capital as one of its forms. Hence a man may possess much property, and yet have little or no capital. Indeed, men sometimes fail through having too much property—in real estate or in other forms which cannot readily be turned into cash; and too little capital, *i. e.*, stock or money on hand in business, or available for its immediate demands.

Property is whatever one possesses as his own, that which belongs to him as a person. Capital still retains something of the original meaning of *caput*, the head (as of a stream), the starting-point, the source from which motion, direction, capacity, proceeds. Hence capital is property or means employed, or ready to be employed, for furthering some use or gain, as in trade, manufactures, mining, inventions, research, or in any institution or undertaking which requires means to begin it and to carry it forward. The moment labor attempts

to rise above mere daily work for daily bread, it requires capital, or resources other than mere muscular strength. Capital is the head, and labor the hand. Capital is the accumulation of past labor and production, which is applied to fresh labor and material for the furtherance of production on a broader scale and with larger results than could be possible to the single-handed workman. Every advance of the workman towards his own ideal of well-paid labor and a life of independent comfort, must be in the direction of capital or by the aid of capital. Capital supplies him with material, tools, machines, assistants, and all the resources and appliances by which he is enabled to lessen the hours of necessary labor, diminish its toils, multiply its products, and increase its gains. Could anything be more suicidal than that labor should destroy capital? The hand would thus cut off the head.

A geologist has described coal as "bottled sunshine." The profuse vegetation which the sun brought to life in the "carboniferous age" of our globe, slowly decaying in the marshy soil, was stored away in the coal which now throws out to us the heat of the sun then bottled up and kept in reserve for the use of man. Just so capital is bottled labor. All the production of the past which

has not been consumed in meeting the wants of the intervening time remains as a stock or store for stimulating and sustaining production for the present and the future. The workman who is producing something does not live meantime upon that which he is about to produce. While he is working upon a new thing, he must live upon the proceeds of his previous labor, or he must borrow the proceeds of somebody else's labor, or make a contract with some person or association having means on hand for providing food, tools, and other necessaries for his labor. All such means, from whatever source derived, are capital—the head from which his hands receive impulse, guidance, and sustaining power for the work which they are to do. Thus capital is constantly passing into new forms of labor, and labor is constantly producing new supplies to reinforce capital. Without capital the workman could do nothing for himself from day to day; without capital he could provide neither work nor living for his children. Work begins and ends with capital.

We are now prepared to define *Capital as the stock of previous production employed or usable for further production.* This stock may consist of money, implements, material, provisions—in short, of

any kind of property which is used or ready to be used in stimulating industry or promoting gain. Hence capital is not only a constant friend of labor, but, like the Siamese twins, Capital and Labor are bound together by a vital ligament which is their common life, and to sever which would be death to both.

Notwithstanding this truism, the advocates of Socialism commonly represent Capital as the enemy of Labor, as being in the first place created by Labor, then living upon Labor by robbing it of its fruits. This has been the teaching of the Socialistic and Communistic leaders in France and Germany—Fourier, Proudhon, St. Simon, Marx, Lassalle, and others—and the cry that "capital is robbery" is now echoed by their followers in the United States. But it is a poor compliment to the understanding of workman to put forth such a doctrine as a plea for changing their condition. For where is the workmen in the United States whose own sense does not teach him that he could not have done his first day's work if others had not worked before him, to lay up the means on which he must live until his labor should bring him a return, to provide the tools with which he could labor, to start undertakings in which his work should be

required, or to open markets in which his productions would meet with a sale? In one word, where is the workman who does not know that but for capital to start him, to employ him, to repay him, he never could have found work to do, nor any one to take his work off his hands when he had given to it all he had of time, strength, and skill?

To this point it does not matter where the capital comes from—whether from an individual, or a corporation, or a society, or from government. The simple, universal fact is, that but for capital the workman would have no work, and of course get no pay. Suppose I have just come to the time of life when I must begin to work for my living. I have absolutely nothing but myself—my head, my hands, my will—to go upon. What shall I do? How shall I begin? I am willing to dig, to shovel snow, to sweep the streets; but I have neither shovel nor broom, and not a cent with which to buy one. Somebody must hire me or help me to start. If a boss or contractor hires me and furnishes me with tools, this is because he has already earned more than he has used on his daily living, and by means of his savings has laid up a *capital* which enables him to buy tools and other "means of work" and to pay wages to other workmen. I owe my first

work and my first wages to his skill and prudence in acquiring capital. If the city corporation employs me, it pays me from the means brought into its treasury by taxes—an income which is turned into capital. If from my first week's wages I save a dollar, this is my capital to invest in a spade, a broom, or other means of work. This holds true of higher grades of employment. In the nature of things there can be only so much work as there is capital to employ and reward the workman. If the whole capital of the world should be destroyed, the first act of the workman must be to try, by the bare labor of his hands, to win from nature something to keep him alive to-day, and of this to save something as capital to work upon to-morrow.

Capital being thus the very marrow of labor, the real issue is not between Capital and Labor, but between the possessors and the non-possessors of capital. Hence it is of the gravest consequence to determine, Who are the rightful possessors of capital? or, By what right does any man claim to be an owner of this indispensable ally of labor?

We have seen in Chapter I. that all useful labor gives to the workman a right in the fruits of that labor, and also that the workman may rightfully seek for the largest return from his labor which

the wants of others may be willing to yield him. His first necessity is his own living for the day. But I have shown that even if this should be secured to him, a state of things which would keep him at the dead level of a day's work for a day's rations argues some lurking injustice or some grievous blunder in the constitution of society. Suppose however that his work brings him in three times as much as he requires for his daily living, what shall be done with the remaining two thirds? A portion he would naturally use in adding to the necessaries of life such comforts, enjoyments, and refinements as would minister to his desires. A portion he might also bestow in a kindly way to encourage and relieve some workman who had been less fortunate or successful than himself. But after he had provided for himself and his household and had helped his neighbor, there might still remain a surplus for which there was no immediate use. To whom would this surplus belong? To him of course, and to him alone. By what right? By the same right by which any of the preceding portions belonged to him. His right in the proceeds of his labor is not limited by the amount which he needs or can presently use, nor by the line that divides the expended from the unexpended.

The whole is his to do with as he pleases. He may choose to give away the whole surplus above his present needs—to divide this among say ten other workmen. But none of the ten can come to him and say, "This surplus belongs to me by virtue of my not having worked, or not having earned so much as you." Any honest workman would turn such a fellow out of doors. Neither can the whole ten demand that his surplus shall be handed over to them for a common fund. Should he *choose* to make this disposition of his surplus, then, whether wise or unwise in the general interests of industry, we should say this was an act of generosity. But it must be the act of his free will. As the state protects him in person and in property, and secures to him the benefits of a civilized community, the state may properly tax him for his share of the necessary expenses of government. But no officer of the state has a right to compel him to surrender his surplus just because it is a surplus—to make it over to his neighbor, or to an association of workmen, or to the public treasury. Every workman would resent that as an act of tyranny. The cost of the state is one of the necessary expenses of living. The workman owes something to society. But neither state nor society can turn upon him

and claim that he shall live and work for it alone. The workman having a surplus may bethink himself of the morrow. To-morrow work may be slack, or he may be ill; therefore he decides to lay by something "for a rainy day." This he has a perfect right to do, the same right as to earn to-morrow a new recompense for his labor. But this surplus is capital, and by the same right with which he earned it he may keep it for his own use. He may decide, by loaning or otherwise investing it, to put it to use in further production; he may decide to transfer it to a son or a friend for some active employment, with a view to further gain; or he may decide to keep it for safety against a time of need. His right in all this is as perfect as was his original right in the proceeds of his labor. The rights of capital, then, rest upon acquisition and possession, and upon occupation for useful ends.

The same holds true of property in general. Of course there will be cases in which the first acquisition of property is marked by some act of injustice; and cases in which the ownership of property is abused by negligence, wastefulness, and a selfish indifference to the wants of others, to productive industry, to public improvements, and the general welfare of society. But in such cases it is

not property as property which is in fault, but the temporary possessor; and the remedy is to be found, not in overturning property as an institution and scattering capital to the winds, but in dealing either by law or by public opinion with the specific acts of injustice or dishonesty of the individual wrong-doer.

As a rule, common prudence, the love of gain, and the instinct of self-preservation, will lead a proprietor to use his possessions in the way that will best promote the welfare of all. He will get the most profit from his capital by using it in ways which will best serve the wants of the community. His own interests are bound up with theirs. They need capital for all the enterprises of industry, and every enterprise which promises him a good and sure return appeals to his love of gain, and tempts him to employ his capital in just those things which the community most desire. This he does, too, at his own risk, and often at a loss. In the long run human interests balance one another, and hold evils and abuses in check. If a landlord is grasping, his tenants leave his houses empty. If an employer is grinding, rivals draw off his workmen and break down his monopoly of greed. It is not true of ambition alone that it "o'erleaps itself;" sooner or

later every selfish passion comes to the same fate. Setting aside, then, individual cases of wrong in the acquisition and the use of property, the great law remains that acquisition, possession, occupation, establish a right in property as clear and strong as is the right of the workman in the proceeds of his labor.

This right is not vacated nor impaired by the increase of property in the hands of the same proprietor, so long as he shows himself competent and disposed to guard and to occupy his property to good and useful ends. Yet Socialists denounce private property as "a monopoly of the means of work by the class of capitalists;" and they declare that, "in order to emancipate labor, it is requisite that the means of work be transformed into the common property of society, that all productive powers be regulated by associations, and that the entire product of labor he turned over to society and justly distributed for the benefit of all." These are the very words of the Platform put forth by the Social Democrats of Germany, at their meeting at Gotha in 1875. This scheme of administering property I shall consider in a separate chapter on Communism. But just here I beg the reader to notice three things.

(1.) This declaration recognizes the need of

property in the organization of society, and especially of property in the form of capital as "the means of work." Precisely so. The "*means* of work" are as important as is work itself, and should be equally respected and guarded.

(2.) Yet this declaration nowhere provides for the right of capital. We have found such a right for the individual proprietor or proprietors, resting upon the same grounds with the rights of labor, and originally growing out of these. Now individual holders of property may transfer their rights to an association upon terms of mutual agreement. But for an association which has not acquired a right in property, either by its own labor or by an equivalent in exchange, to seize upon private property for common uses, would be an act of robbery making every honest laborer the victim of an irresponsible power. It does not alter the nature of the act to call this association "society" or "the community" instead of a band of freebooters, nor to make the seizure by the vote of a majority instead of by the sword of a tyrant. The workman has an indefeasible right in the fruit of his labor; and for any person, body, or power to say to him, "*Thus* much of your earnings you may keep and use, the remainder must be turned over to us to be distributed at

our will," is an act of robbery and tyranny, which saps the foundations of justice, of liberty, and of labor itself.

(3.) And this declaration of the Gotha Conference overlooks the vital fact that the care of property and the employment of capital is itself a work of the highest magnitude, and requires a special capacity, training, skill, and experience. Men who have risen from the position of workmen to be managers of capital have found that no labor expended in getting money was so wearying and exacting as the labor required in taking care of money. The men who do the head-work of providing the "means of work" for others, are the men of anxious days and sleepless nights. Of all the servants of society these are most heavily tasked. Theirs is a trade that demands constant vigilance and allows no rest. It is a trade to which men must be trained as specialists, and for which few have the necessary qualifications of coolness, quickness, precision, courage, prudence, and far-sighted intuition. The best guarantee to society of the wise and useful employment of capital is, that the risks and the gains of the possessor of property are identified with the interests of the whole community. Yet Socialism would throw away this high

incentive to the improvement of capital, and place this immense trust at the disposal of an unskilled, irresponsible, fluctuating majority. The association or society to which Communists would commit the employment of capital and the distribution of profits must have managers or directors, and these, for their term of office, must have a large discretionary power. Now it is notorious that no one cares for the business of another as he would care for his own. He lacks the most powerful incentives to diligence and fidelity—self-interest and the hope of reward. I speak here of motives common to human nature, and not of a life governed by Christian principle—of what is, not of what ought to be. In the absence of those natural motives which compel the individual capitalist to serve the community in seeking his own interest, what shall insure in the managing body of the community the enterprise and the caution—in one word, the capacity necessary to the wise and productive employment of capital?

The right of property has become mixed with side issues concerning land, interest, laws of inheritance, and the like, which do not belong to the essence of the property question. These all are questions of regulating or administering various

forms of property. Stripped of such accidental topics, the right to have and to hold property is as clear as the right of labor. This right may be summed up as follows: A man has an absolute right to himself. He has also an absolute right to his labor. To deny this is to make him a slave. He has an unqualified right to the earnings of his labor—that is, to what others will give him in money or in kind for his labor or the products of his labor. Since his earnings are exclusively his own, it is his right to use these according to his own pleasure, in so far as he does not interfere with the equal right and liberty of others to make their way in the world, or does not injuriously obstruct the public good. He may put his lawful earnings into stocks, banks, factories, houses, mines, railways, lands—anything that he pleases. No one has a right to direct or to hinder him in the use or the investment of that which he has honestly acquired, any more than to strip him every evening of all that he has earned above his living expenses for the day. The right to earn gives the right to use or to keep; and this right is just as valid at the end of a week, a month, a year, ten years, as on the day when his earnings are first paid into his hands. Suppose a laborer, by temperance and frugality, has in ten

years saved enough to buy a bit of land and build a little cottage for his family, and at this moment his fellow-workmen come forward and say, "You have no right to this; you have been hoarding property; instead of using your surplus earnings for the public good, you have put them into the form of fixed capital, which has earned for you interest upon interest without labor; and now you intend to give this the permanent form of real estate, and hold it exclusively as your own. This society forbids. You have no right to private property. You have had your living all along, while some of us have hardly earned enough to keep body and soul together. You have deprived us of the benefit of all the work and the production which your extra earnings would have brought had you used instead of hoarding them. Either you must make over house and land to the public treasury, or pay a yearly rent to *us* for the use of them."

It needs no words to show that such a proceeding would be downright robbery. But it is important to fix our minds upon the point that the wrong would not be against property alone, but against what lies back of the property—against the work which has produced the property, and against the man who did the work and saved the proceeds of

his own labor. It is a crime against industry, thrift, temperance, economy, in short, against all the virtues which make the workman worth anything to himself and to the community. The principle is the same, the right of property is as just and clear, whether the sum saved as capital and held as property is a hundred dollars, or a thousand, or ten thousand. A man's right to property justly acquired is as absolute as his right to his labor, or his right to himself. Hence to the workman the right of property should be as sacred as his own person. To lay violent hands upon it is like laying violent hands on him; for his right to labor is his right to earn, and to have, to use, or to keep that which he earns.

Since all rights have corresponding duties, of course Property owes duties to society both civil and moral. The state can rightfully tax property for the support of government. The owner of property may not put it to injurious uses, nor hold it as an obstruction to the public welfare. He may not put up a factory where it would be a nuisance to his neighbors. He may not leave swamp-lands undrained where they would breed pestilence. If a right of way through his lands is required by the public good, the state can take what it needs at a

fair valuation, even though his houses and barns need to be removed. If the roadway by the side of his premises requires to be improved by paving, fencing, or planting, the state can compel him to provide his share of the work or the cost. These and like things the state may do or demand, but in doing or demanding must itself deal equitably with the rights of property.

The owner of property owes also moral duties to society for the beneficial use of his capital; but society has no power to compel him to perform his strictly moral duties. The civil law can forbid his doing injustice or injury, but cannot force him to do good. If he injures his neighbor the law can punish him, but the law cannot make him love his neighbor. This is impossible in the nature of things; and any attempt to coerce the inner feelings of men by outward penalties would be an absurd and cruel tyranny. In all his moral duties and acts the man must be free to do for himself, until by overt action he injures others. The *right* of property is sacred, even when men misuse their trust. Within the moral sphere, viewed apart from the civil, a man must be left free to do what he will with his own, responsible only to conscience, to public opinion, and to God.

CHAPTER IV.

LAND AND INHERITANCE.

"MULTIPLY and replenish the earth." Gen. 1:28. "In the sweat of thy face shall thou eat bread." Gen 2:19. "The heaven, even the heavens, are the Lord's; but the earth hath he given to the children of men." Psa. 115:16. "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth for ever." Eccles. 1:4. These texts give an outline of the Bible doctrine concerning land. The earth was intended by the Creator to be occupied by man, to be tilled by him, to be peopled by him, to be possessed by mankind to all generations. Whatever changes may take place on the surface of the earth, whatever peoples, nations, races, may come and go, the ground is always there, and labor applied to the soil will yield support to the ever-increasing numbers of the human family.

How the land is to be occupied, cultivated and enjoyed, in what portions, by what methods, under what rules, the Bible does not specifically teach.

As a book of religious faith the Bible deals with universal truths; as a book of moral precepts, the Bible deals with all men alike: what is individual is universal, and what is universal is at the same time particular. But, in the outward economy of life, the Bible leaves men to follow the laws of nature and to learn method and wisdom by experience, under the supreme guidance of the moral law. Only it teaches incidentally and by example what may be allowed and what is forbidden in the secular intercourse of men.

Now, if we follow down the course of Bible history, we early find traces of private property and of ownership in land as having a moral sanction. Thus Abram is commanded by the Lord to quit his native country, and is promised the land of Canaan as a possession for himself and his posterity. Gen. 12:1; 13:15. He is "very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold." Gen. 13:2. All these personal possessions of Abraham were inherited by his son Isaac, and Rebekah was invited to share them as his wife. Gen. 24:35, 36. To avoid contention about pasture lands, Abraham and Lot made a division of the country between them, the one going to the east, the other to the west. Gen. 13. At the burial of Sarah, the relations of property as between foreign-

ers who had come to be friends, appear in a most tender and sacred light. In the sorrow of his spirit Abraham "spake unto the sons of Heth, saying, I am a stranger and a sojourner with you; give me a possession of a burying-place with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight. And the children of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him, Hear us, my lord: thou art a mighty prince among us; in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead." Abraham now expressed his preference for the cave of Machpelah in the field of Ephron; whereupon Ephron publicly offered this as a gift: "The field give I thee, and the cave that is therein, I give it thee; in the presence of the sons of my people give I it thee: bury thy dead." While Abraham appreciated this delicate and generous courtesy, with equal delicacy and honor he insisted upon paying for the field; and when at last the terms were agreed upon, the purchase was made and ratified with becoming solemnities in the open place at the gate of the city, where all public transactions were conducted. "Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with

the merchant. And the field of Ephron which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field, and the cave that was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the borders round about, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession in the presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city." Gen. 23.

This beautiful story shows us how sacred were the rights of property in that early age, how nice was the sense of honor in purchase and sale, and how careful were all the details of the transfer of land in order to make sure his possession to the purchaser. There was then no written deed and record of sale; but the price was agreed upon, the money paid, the transfer made in the public place of justice, where all the town were witnesses. Everything was specified in the hearing of all. Abraham wanted the cave for a tomb. It is publicly stated that, to give him free access to the tomb, the field goes with it. He has not only a right of way, but the fee in the soil. And everything upon the soil goes with it: the trees in the field, and the trees and shrubbery growing upon its borders; this all is made sure to Abraham and publicly ratified as his personal possession. We feel not only the sentiment of the story, but its value as a precedent.

Every man in Hebron acknowledged the exclusive right of Ephron in that particular field. Every man respected the desire of Abraham to bury his wife near where he was likely to end his days, though he could have found free lands in the wilderness not far away. Every man understood his wish to own the soil in which the body of Sarah should be laid. And who does not feel that for such a purpose at least the right of property should be personal and sacred!

Following down the Bible story, we find Jacob making a permanent settlement in the land of Canaan as a proprietor of the soil. On his death-bed he directed his sons to bury him in the cave of Machpelah, reminding them that his grandfather Abraham had bought the cave "with the field of Ephron the Hittite for a possession of a burying-place." Gen. 49:33. Jacob owned also a bit of land in Middle Palestine, near Shechem, where he had settled for a while after his return from Mesopotamia. This he had bought from the children of Hamor, for a hundred pieces of money, for the purpose of erecting there an altar to the Lord (Gen. 33:19, 20); just as, centuries later, King David bought for six hundred shekels of gold the threshing-floor of Ornan, for building there an altar.

1 Chron. 21 : 24, 26. This parcel of ground Jacob gave to his son Joseph; there "the bones of Joseph which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, were buried," and the land "became the inheritance of the children of Joseph." Josh. 24 : 32. Fifteen hundred years later, at the time of Christ, this spot was still known as Joseph's inheritance. John 4 : 5. Thus, in the Bible, the possession of property stands connected with all that is most sacred in human life—with domestic affections, with funeral solemnities, and with religious devotion. In the transfer of land, care was taken to specify the boundaries, the names of the seller and buyer, the price, and the right of inheritance. This was always a transaction of solemnity and of honor.

Both before their bondage in Egypt and after their exodus the children of Israel were a roving, pastoral people. But in order to fulfil their mission as a people, it was necessary that they should take on a fixed national form, and be anchored to the soil, and live mainly by the tillage of the soil. To transform them from the nomadic to agricultural life, it was necessary first of all to give them a sense of security in the possession of land. For this Moses provided that the territory of Canaan should first be divided into twelve districts, according to

the twelve tribes, in the ratio of their respective numbers. Then these tribal districts were subdivided by lot among the families of each tribe according to the number of each family. The family possession could descend to a daughter when there was no son; it must always be kept in the family, and could never be permanently alienated, but if sold to a stranger, the sale was made on condition that the land should revert at the year of jubilee to the nearest representative of the original family owner. The nation collectively did not hold the land; the tribe collectively did not hold its allotted district; but every family or representative of a family held in perpetual fee and by regular inheritance the portion allotted to said family in the district of its own tribe. Num. 26 : 52–57; 27 : 1–12; Lev. 25 : 23–29. Here was a provision for private ownership in land and for family inheritance.

I do not bring this forward as a sort of Divine warrant for private ownership in land, but as a notable example of land economy in one who, even in practical affairs, was specially favored with wisdom from above. And private property in land did have a religious sanction in the command, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou

shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it." Deut. 19: 14. In Palestine the land was not fenced off nor walled in as we are accustomed to see it in America; but the boundaries of each man's plot were marked by stones set up at the four corners. Now, to go by night and set the marks of a neighbor's field farther in upon his ground, so as to add a strip of his land to your own, was just as much a crime as to break into his house and steal his money or his goods. The Divine commands, "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's," rest upon the right of private property, of personal ownership in things. And the same right in land is recognized and guaranteed when it is said, "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark." Deut. 27: 17.

The force of these land regulations appears strikingly in the case of Naboth and his vineyard. Ahab, king of Samaria, took a fancy to Naboth's vineyard, which was near his palace, and could be made ornamental as a garden. He made the owner a fair offer: "I will give thee for it a better vineyard than it; or, if it seem good to thee, I will give thee the worth of it in money." The laws and cus-

toms of landed property had so strong a hold upon the people that even this unscrupulous tyrant felt bound to respect them. Many a man would have jumped at the bargain which Ahab offered; but Naboth had an affection for his little place because it was an old family inheritance, and refused to part with it. Nettled as the king was at not having his way, he did not dare force Naboth to exchange or sell, but had recourse to the trick of getting him arrested and put to death on a false charge of blasphemy. Then he took possession of the vineyard as forfeit to the crown. The case shows how deeply rooted in the Jewish nation were private property in land and inalienable inheritance. 1 Kings 21. Through changes of government, wars, and invasions, this system of land economy contributed as notably as did the national religion to the stability and prosperity of the commonwealth.

The fixed occupation of land is the first step in civilization, and the improvement of land is a presumptive warrant for occupation. So long as tribes subsist by fishing and hunting, or wander from place to place for pasturing their flocks, progress in the arts of life, in society, in government, in anything that verges toward civilization is hardly possible. But no sooner do they settle down to the

task of subduing the earth, than they manifest an advance in arts and manners which marks a truly human and progressive society. How occupation begins—whether by a tribe jointly, or by its members in severalty—is of secondary moment: but occupation there must be if man is to live in a condition much above the animals of the chase or the flocks of the field. Hence the right of possessing the soil is a natural necessity of human development. Without this right society could not exist, man could not be man, the human race could not multiply, for lack of subsistence. Whatever the form of land tenure, the right lies far back in this necessity.

But here comes in a correlative duty. The right of occupation in any portion of territory carries with it the obligation to serviceable occupation. Now to bring the land up to the highest point of utility, the possessor must have the feeling of security in his possession; he must have the certainty of enjoying the fruits of his labor and skill in crops which are the form in which land pays *interest;* and, as far as possible, he should have the hope of transmitting his property as a start in the world to his children. These motives will best stimulate that utilizing of land, which is the physi-

cal basis of society, and itself the stimulus to commerce, manufactures, and the arts of life. Going back to the first principle, that the man has a right to himself and to his labor, we see that when by his labor in subduing nature he develops a value in land, he transforms, as it were, his own life and value into an object of utility external to himself yet a part of himself; he incarnates his personal value in the soil and its products, and so extends to these his original right in himself. More than this. It required a moral force in him to create a capital from waste land; and it required temperance, skill, and perseverance, to retain this improved capital and to husband its fruits. Hence his right in the land is represented by his own value, *plus* his economic virtues.

It is not always that a land tenure rests upon such valid grounds. Indeed a vast deal of the present legal right in land originated in violence, injustice, usurpation, or fraud, and could not stand in equity. But the remedy for such abuses and wrongs is to be sought in natural causes and in legislative reforms, and not by subverting all right of property in land. Mr. George W. Julian* has exposed the enormous blunders and abuses of the

* "Atlantic Monthly," March, 1879.

land policy of the United States, and especially the evil of allowing speculators to get possession of large parcels of land, and hold these unimproved, waiting for a rise in value through the improvements of actual settlers. This may be a present wrong to plain honest farmers, and a hindrance to public prosperity; yet the evil is often exaggerated and the remedies proposed are not always sound in political economy. The favorite specific against land monopoly is that government should forbid the accumulation of land by individuals, and should give a small farm to every *bonâ-fide* settler who will engage to improve it.

That the subdivision of land into small lots may favor tillage and improve the peasantry the experience of France partly, but not fully, goes to show. Yet the soil and climate of France are specially favorable to such an experiment; and, on the other hand, the population of France increases in a much smaller ratio than that of Great Britain or of Germany, though France loses far less by emigration than either of those countries. But where land is more suitable for grazing or for timber than for tillage, large farms may better serve for its development. And this may also be true when farms are remote from a market and require capital and ma-

chinery for the profitable cultivation of the soil. The oldfashioned hillside farms of Vermont can no longer compete in agriculture with the prairie farms of the West; and hence small contiguous farms have been bought up and thrown together as grazing farms. This shows how land, like everything else, obeys the laws of trade. And overtrading in land is as mischievous as overtrading in any other article of sale.

The occupation of land should be left to the normal conditions and movements of society. It is a mistake to measure the prosperity of a country solely by the increase of its population and of its products. What *sort* of people are they who increase by millions? Are they intelligent? Are they virtuous? Are they religious? Have they sciences, music, arts? Do they cultivate themselves, or only cultivate the soil? Do they make the world better, or only richer? A country which has already forty millions of people need be in no hurry to give away its lands for the sake of increasing its population. It holds both its lands and its liberties as a trust for posterity, and should provide a sound, healthy, natural growth for the long future. By all means make land cheap and easy for all who will occupy and improve it. By all means thwart

rapacity and hinder monopoly in the acquisition of land. But he will best care for and improve land who pays something for his title in the soil. Small, cheap farms, but not pauper settlements, should be the policy.

The capitalist who holds land for an advance may be taxed roundly for public improvements, and thus his land, though idle, be made to contribute to the general good. But who has the right to compel him to make improvements on his own ground, to use a subsoil plough and chemical fertilizers, or to put up wire fences? Besides, by holding his lands, he may best serve the community in the end. Many a settlement has been ruined by premature "improvements." By holding on, the capitalist may invite a better class of settlers by-and-by. Meantime he takes all risk of loss and pays his taxes!

As to inheritance, the right of transmitting property is a strong motive to acquiring and improving property, and contributes to the stability of human society by enlisting the domestic affections in what tends most to the improvement of mankind. If the fact that he has not worked for the property is an objection to the heir's entering into possession, it is an objection equally valid

against any other claimant. For who has worked for it? The scattering of property at death would place every man's labors at the sport of the winds. Since in the United States primogeniture does not obtain, and titles of nobility are forbidden by law, the division of great estates may be left to the sure working of time. In no land is the workman who has a taste for farming so favored and so safe in buying a homestead for himself and his children.

The question of landed property may be made plain by an example. Not long ago I made a tour of the Harz—the mountain district of North Germany, famous for its forests of pine, ash, elm, oak, and beech, its mines of lead, silver, and copper, and quarries of marble, granite, and basalt; and no less famous for its legends of gods, heroes, ghosts, and witches, and its homely tales of cabin-life. I came across the miners at the festival of their Relief Society, when every member receives a gratuity from the king of Prussia. I met the goatherds with their flocks, the charcoal-burners at their pits, the wood-cutters at their piles, and I was struck with the spirit of contentment and independence that seemed to pervade all classes. I found that for the most part the little cottages in the settlements were owned by the workmen who occupied them, and

that men, women, and children were well-dressed, well-housed, and well-fed. My thoughts went back to the time when these forests were tenanted by wild beasts, and the reputed abode of divinities, giants, and elfs, but unclaimed and unused by the still wild Germanic tribes that disputed the boundaries of the Elbe and the Weser. Then came the first encroachments of human labor in little clearings for the sake of wood and of pasture.

Now, whoever cleared for himself a portion of this free forest became possessor of this by the right of labor, and then proprietor by the right of occupation. Could any other man, could the whole tribe, rightfully seize upon and appropriate what he had redeemed from nature by his hard-handed toil? By degrees his section of the forest was found to possess large capabilities for the service of man, and hence to have a *value* far beyond that which the original labor had bestowed. Trees which at first were felled for firewood were now sawn into timber, or shaped into masts, or charred into coal. Beneath the surface were found beds of useful ores. To develop these the occupant and possessor must call in the labor of others, and give something of his own in exchange for their labor. But is not the value of the soil and the substance his? Can those

to whom he now furnishes the means of work claim a right of property in the place and the material which he was the first to find and secure? Every improvement which he makes upon his property is a direct benefit to his neighbors in immediate work and in accumulating the means of work for the future.

At length by clearings upon all sides the forest begins to waste away. And now a proprietor, whose accumulated store of labor enables him to wait, plants trees which shall serve another generation for timber, masts, and coals. In this service to posterity, this prevision for human wants, he foregoes all the profit he might gain from the culture of the soil, and looks for his reward in the prosperity of his children. Only capital can afford thus to wait and to provide for the future. Without capital it would be impossible to anticipate any wants of mankind beyond the necessities of the hour. But capital stores up the labor of the past as means of work for the future. It grows with the trees for the service of man, and works with and in nature as the life of labor. Now, would the proprietor do this, could he do this, if he foresaw that some association of woodchoppers or charcoal-burners could seize upon his young forest—the growth

of his care and sacrifice—and claim it as if, like the primitive forest, this could be appropriated by the first right of labor? Must not his right grow with the trees, and last with the soil? If by-and-by, from a regard to climate, water supply, and general conditions of health and comfort for the community at large, Government steps in to regulate the planting and felling of trees, and skilled foresters are appointed to oversee the district, we have the best possible combination for securing the good of all in harmony with the rights of each. Labor, property, capital, and the state, all combine for the normal and permanent prosperity of society.

CHAPTER V.

LAWS OF PRODUCTION AND TRADE.

In the first chapter I have spoken of certain laws which regulate production and trade, but are themselves beyond the reach of human legislation. The term "*laws* of trade" is apt to mislead by suggesting the idea of some authority, power, or body, by which rules of production and trade are enacted and enforced. The theory of Socialists assumes that all the evils which oppress the workman proceed from a constitution of society which is framed and sustained by human will alone. Hence Socialists fancy that the remedy for these evils would be found in such a change of existing laws and institutions, as would bring all property and all labor under the direct control of a government which should itself be appointed and controlled by workmen, as the majority of the population. Thus, the Gotha platform declares that "The German Social Workingmen's Party, for the purpose of preparing the way, and for the solution of the social problem, demands the creation of social productive associa-

tions, to be supported by the state government and under the control of the working people. The productive associations are to be founded in such numbers that the social organization of the whole production can be effected by them." As steps toward this ideal state of society, government must take possession of all the means and materials of production, must apportion these among associations of workmen, must abolish wages, or the system of hired workmen, must establish a normal working-day according to the wants of society, must see that every man does his proper share of work, and must take charge of the entire product of labor and distribute this equally for the benefit of all.

This whole scheme rests on the assumption that work and production *can* be prescribed by legislation; that nothing is wanted to fix the amount of labor, of its products and profits, but the combined will of society in the form of laws, institutions, and associations. But there are laws of production and of trade or exchange which society did not make and cannot unmake. When in the physical world we observe the same phenomena always taking place in the same circumstances, the same effects uniformly following the same causes or conditions, we say, "Here is a *law* of nature." Again, when

in human society we observe that certain acts are performed by men of all races under the same conditions, though each particular act is done by an individual human will, we say, "This is a *law* of human nature." Thus we speak of the law of self-defence, the law of self-preservation, the law of association, and the like. In none of these cases do we mean by "law" a rule of action imposed by some authority or power from without, and which therefore might be changed by some external authority or force; we mean only that such and such results do always follow such and such antecedents. Why this is we may not pretend to know; the fact that it is, and that it seems to be so in and of itself, leads us to call this uniform order of events a law. The Science of Sociology rests upon this law of sequence in social phenomena, as given by statistics.

Such laws there are in production and in trade. Our personal wills and acts may form a part of the series of events that make up the law, but these do not create nor enforce the law. For the law is the observed fact that any number of men do always think, will, and act in the same way under the same conditions; and whatever may be the reasons for this in each individual case, the result is one and the same. Such laws, arising out of the nature of

things, cannot be changed by any law-making power; and the individual or the society which attempts to override these, or does not take them into account, will surely come to grief.

The first basis of human subsistence is land. Men must live off the products of the earth.

The second basis of human subsistence is labor. The spontaneous products of the earth are not sufficient to supply the wants of the human family; and even these cannot be gathered without labor. For a regular supply of food man must work.

As a first rule, then, production will be in the ratio of labor.

But different soils have different qualities, and production may be increased or varied by the treatment of the soil. Skill and science may improve the quality of production, and machinery may increase its quantity. But there is a limit to what nature will produce both in quality and in quantity, and there is a limit to what labor can do even with all the aids of science and invention. Now science and machinery involve capital. Hence the law just stated must be modified so as to read, 1. Within the sphere of nature production will be in the ratio of the capital and labor employed in utilizing land. 2. Production is limited by the capacity of nature and

by the amount and quality of the labor bestowed upon the land.

No power on earth, no government, no society, no wit nor wisdom of man, can change these fundamental facts as to the law of production and its limit. Mr. John Stuart Mill has stated the case with his usual clearness and force: "The laws and conditions of the production of wealth partake of the character of physical truths. There is nothing optional or arbitrary in them. Whatever mankind produces must be produced in the modes and under the conditions imposed by the constitution of external things, and by the inherent properties of their own bodily and mental structure. Whether they like it or not, their productions will be limited by the amount of their previous accumulation, and, that being given, it will be proportioned to their energy, their skill, the perfection of their machinery, and their judicious use of the advantages of combined labor. Whether they like it or not, a double quantity of labor will not raise on the same land a double quantity of food, unless some improvement takes place in the processes of cultivation. . . . . The opinions or the wishes which may exist on these different matters do not control the things themselves. . . . . We cannot alter the ulti-

mate properties either of matter or mind, but can only employ those properties more or less successfully to bring about the events in which we are interested."*

I have stated the law of production from the natural side. But there is also a law on the economical side, which is as certain in its operation as a law of nature. The prime object of labor is to create a value which can be used in exchange for other values. The workman gives what he has in exchange for what he wants. But if what he produces is not wanted by others, then he has no means of supplying his own wants. To meet these he will cease producing what does not pay, and will turn his labor into some other channel which promises reward. Or if he has produced much more of a single article than the community desire, so that he must give a great deal of his own labor to procure a very little of the labor of others in exchange, then he will seek some more profitable labor for his hands. If the farmer has raised only wheat, and all his neighbors have raised wheat, and there is already on hand a large surplus of last year's wheat, then the low price of wheat will lead the farmer

* Mill's "Principles of Political Economy," Book II., Chap. I., § 1.

next year to try some other crop. Hence, though each laborer and each buyer acts independently for his own interest, an average of years will show the fixed law that production is determined by consumption, that is, by price; in other words, that supply is regulated by demand. True, it will sometimes happen that an increased production will create an increased demand; that when an article is made plentiful and cheap, its use will be extended to other classes, and its production will be rewarded by large sales at small profits. Hence in artificial products, as, for instance, in the manufacture of cotton goods, production might be multiplied to the full limit of the raw material. Such production differs from the tillage of land. In the nature of the manufacture spindles could be endlessly multiplied. But would they be multiplied after the manufacture of cotton goods had ceased to be profitable? No man nor company would produce anything except in expectation of a profit—would sink capital in providing articles to be sold below the cost of production. Hence, though millions of separate wills may engage in the acts of making, of buying, and of selling, the great law fixes itself, that demand—that is to say, price or exchangeable value—regulates production. Circumstances may modify the

action of this law. Combination may temporarily suspend or divert it. But neither combination, co-operation, nor legislation can effectively control or change it.

In time of famine, if bakers and flour-dealers should combine to extort money from the starving poor, government might interfere and fix a standard price for the loaf of bread. But if this did not cover the cost of production, would any man make bread thereafter beyond what he required for his own use? And if, on the other hand, in a year of plenty the government should keep up the famine standard in order to repay the growers and bakers or to provide against another time of scarcity, how soon would the poor whom legal interference had kept from starving, break out in riots against such interference, or in revolution against the government itself. We should indeed study how to adjust ourselves to the natural laws of trade, and perhaps modes of organization may be found for making that adjustment easier; but while the tides shall ebb and flow, it will remain equally beyond human control that production and trade will be in the ratio of capital and labor to want and demand; that with any excess of production the purchasing power or the exchangeable value of the thing produced must

decline; that in the long run the harvest of the earth's fruits must fix the relative value of all other products representing labor; and that labor, refusing to conform to any arbitrary rules of time or value, will ebb and flow by the one great law of supply and demand.

Hence it is easy to understand why forced attempts to raise the price of labor so often damage the condition and prospects of the workman. For instance, there is a town A—— in which the chief part of the population is occupied in shoemaking, and the excellence of their work has given it a monopoly of the market for a wide district. At length a rival town B—— starts the manufacture of shoes, and by pressing its shoes upon the market creates a lively competition. To hold its customers A—— reduces wages and puts down its prices. This B—— cannot afford to do, since new material and machinery must be paid for, and there is not yet, as in the case of A——, a body of customers to fall back upon. Neither has B—— an accumulated capital, by virtue of which she can undersell her rival, and to reduce the wages of her workmen would be to ruin her trade. She tries another expedient. By combining the votes of her workmen she secures the passage of a law that over a

certain area—the county or the state—a tax of 20 per cent. shall be levied upon all shoes manufacted in A—— which happens to lie across the border. At first all promises well. The workmen get good wages, and the manufacturers, having shut off competition, have a good market and get good prices. But soon the baker, the butcher, the farmer, the grocer discover that shoes are dearer than before, much dearer than the shoes they used to get from A——. So they put up the price of the necessaries of life, and the journeyman shoemaker in B—— finds that his higher wages buy him less food than the shoemaker in A—— can buy for his lower wages. By-and-by shoemakers in other places, hearing what high wages are to be had in B—— and not stopping to ascertain the cost of living there, come trooping to this paradise of workmen, and of course jostle one another in search of employment. There are now twice as many shoemakers in B—— as the shoe business needs or can support. Those who must stay there offer to work cheaper. Wages go down but the manufacturers keep up the price of shoes, and the means of living are kept at the same rate of advance. And now the workman at B—— has no more money than the workman at A——, and his money buys far less food.

For it is not the amount of money which the workman receives that constitutes its value, but what that amount of money will procure in exchange for other things that he needs. With flour at twelve dollars a barrel and meat at twenty cents a pound, he is not so well off with twenty dollars in his pocket, as if he had only ten dollars, and flour were five dollars a barrel and meat eight cents a pound. Thus it is that attempts to force the price of a product above the self-adjusting laws of trade, in the end only add to the distress of the workman and tend to his ruin.

As a rule, skill in handiwork and improvements in machinery enhance the value of production and enure to the benefit of the laborer. But it may happen, also, that these will react to cheapen human labor. Of machinery as an auxiliary to labor I shall hereafter speak more at length. What I here insist upon is, that this and every appliance to increase profits by artificial means must be adjusted to those perpetual laws of trade which make and adjust themselves. These laws may seem as fluctuating as the weather. But science is teaching us that the weather has its laws, and that to record and observe these laws is of great importance to the public health, to the harvests, and to commerce.

Something may be done by science and art, by draining, clearing, planting, irrigating, to improve the climate of a country; but after all artificial changes, the weather will still have and follow laws of its own, which men must learn to observe and to obey. Something may be done to modify the action of the natural laws of production and trade; but here also are certain fundamental laws, which human legislation can no more change than a new almanac could change the weather.

CHAPTER VI.

MONEY.

I HAVE spoken of Labor, of Property, of Capital, of Production, and of Trade or Exchange. Now all these, by common consent, may be represented by one and the same equivalent, which is called Money. Labor is worth so much money. A piece of property is rated at a price in money. The amount of active capital is given in money. Production costs so much, and is expected to yield so much more in money. Trade is carried on by the use of money as a medium of exchange. What, then, is this universal representative of value, this all-potent agency that moves and measures the labor and the trade of the world? What is this one thing which all men desire, and by which they think to obtain all other desires?

What is MONEY? The answer to this question should be so simple and clear that a child could understand it; yet the notion of Money has been so wrapped about with misty associations and confused theories, that great care and precision must

be used to recover its true meaning. I might begin by giving one by one the items out of which the idea of money is formed, and then frame these into a definition of the term. But it may serve to quicken the attention, and thus to fix the idea, if I first give a definition of money, and then analyze this definition into its several parts, and illustrate each point by examples.

Money is a commodity having a value of its own, which for convenience and safety is used as a medium of exchange between other values.

Some fancy that money is simply a medium of exchange, something which is agreed upon to represent the value of things in general; that money is an arbitrary creation of government, or a conventional device of commerce, and hence that government or the community can increase the amount of money and fix its value at pleasure. But money is itself a commodity. The term "commodity" is applied to all movable products—goods, produce, wares—which are bought and sold, or can be used in exchange. Now money is not simply a *medium* of exchange, but is itself a *thing* of exchange, a commodity which, like other commodities, can be bought or sold. If A exchanges with B a barrel of flour for a ton of coal, then A buys B's coal with

his flour. If B gives him a golden eagle for his flour, then he buys B's money with flour. If A does not happen to want coal, it is a great convenience to him to get gold instead. But the transaction is the same. What he gets for his flour is not simply a fixed medium of exchange, but a real commodity, which to him is an object of desire. And the worth of the money as a medium of exchange depends upon its having a value of its own, which can be compared with the value of the article given in exchange.

Just here some one will bring up paper-money as an objection to this view, and will claim that a a bank-bill or a government-bill answers perfectly as a medium of exchange without being a commodity or having any value of its own. Now, the very name *paper*-money suggests that in this there is something different from *money*, as that term is used by mankind at large. Is a bank-bill money? Is it anything more than a *promise to pay* the amount of money stated upon the face of the bill, or a certificate that this amount of money will be paid on the presentation of the bill at the bank or at the government treasury? Suppose there is no money to be had at the bank or the treasury—that both absolutely refuse to redeem their paper-bills—

are those bills any longer of use as a medium of exchange? Is a piece of gold of a certain weight and purity increased in value by being stamped by the government as money? It is rendered more available for exchange, but its value is the same as before. This value is determined by its rarity, its uses, its desirableness, the cost of its production, but not by its having the stamp of the mint upon it. But what gives value to a greenback above a bit of plain paper and enables this to pass as money? The simple fact that the government, by its own stamp upon the paper, pledges itself, either at a fixed time or on call, to give in exchange for that particular piece of paper a specified number of dollars in coin. If the government should coin ten million gold dollars, could this hurt its credit? If having only a hundred thousand dollars in coin, it should issue in greenbacks promises to pay ten million dollars, where would its credit be?

At the close of the war, the man who had a thousand dollars in "paper-money" of the Confederacy had only so much waste paper. The bills were genuine; they were honestly issued, but the government which had made these promises to pay had ceased to exist. But had he held a thousand dollars in gold stamped by the Confederacy, he

would have lost nothing. He could not have used these coins as currency, but he could have sent them to the mint to be recoined with the stamp of the United States, and he would have had his thousand dollars still as money. The *promise* to pay money stamped by the Confederacy on its bills was of no value after the Confederacy had failed. The *stamp* of the Confederacy on the gold was of no value—except as a curiosity to coin-collectors—after the failure of the Confederacy; but the gold was a commodity having a value of its own, and therefore it could be used again as money when the stamp of the United States had certified its genuineness and its value—for this is what the mint does when it converts bullion into coin. The mint does not make money; it takes a commodity which, on account of its own value, men have agreed to use as a medium of exchange, and by stamping this, attests it to be of standard weight and purity, and to be rated at a certain sum as money.

During the war the government of the United States issued a large amount of paper-money, and declared that this should be taken at par for debts. But it never was at par; was often far below par; because this paper-money could not be redeemed; there was so much doubt whether the government

would ever be able or willing to redeem so large an amount of promises, that nobody would consent to take a greenback as worth its face in gold. Now, however, we find the greenback at par with gold. And why? Because it is known that the government has on hand sufficient gold to pay off any number of greenbacks likely to be presented at any one time, and because the government has thus far resisted the temptation to repudiate its debts.

From this happy state of the national finances many have inferred that the government might go on to create greenbacks indefinitely, and make money plenty for everybody by an act of Congress. The workman could not fall into a worse delusion for himself and the profits of his labor. The greenback has value as money because of the universal confidence in the ability and the intention of the government to pay the debt, of which every greenback is a certificate. The value of paper-money is purely artificial, and rests upon the ability and the intention of the government to fulfil its promise to pay in money. Destroy that confidence, and the paper on which it is written loses its value.

Some years ago, during a panic in New York, it was rumored that a certain bank had failed. A Frenchman who had deposits there hastened to the

bank to draw his money. When the cashier began to count it out, the Frenchman exclaimed, "Vat! you have him? You have my money? Ven you have him, I no vant him; but ven you no have him, den I vant him *vary much.* I vant the *grand confidence.*" Yes, that is the one secret of value in paper-money, the "grand confidence" that the government which issues these certificates of money, these promises to pay, has means of procuring coin when called on for payment, and intends to keep faith with the holders of its certificates. Let any one who believes that a government can create money out of something which has no value of its own, just ask himself how much Turkish or Russian or Egyptian paper-money he would be willing to take at par in exchange for his work or his goods. The promise to pay must be based upon something which has a real value in itself under all conditions. It has been proposed that the land and buildings of the government should be the basis of its issue of paper-money. These, no doubt, have a value of their own; but how shall any holder of government-bills get his share of the real estate which his bills or bonds represent? He wishes to go abroad for a term of years, and must have something which will pass as money in foreign countries. Land,

houses, he cannot take with him; a certificate of ownership in such property would not help him, since the value of real estate is always fluctuating, and if his portion could be exactly divided off, nobody might care to buy it. Such property would be an incumbrance instead of a convenience, which is a chief recommendation in money. Money must be a commodity, something movable, which can be used anywhere and always in exchange for other things. But houses and lands are not commodities, and could not serve the government as a basis of its promises to pay. If these should be sold they would bring in only more paper-money, that is, more promises to pay!

The same would be the case if the government should base its paper-money upon taxes which should themselves be collected in paper-money. The treasury could only redeem one promise to pay by another promise exactly like it except in number and date, and thus its money would resemble a strip of paper revolving over two cylinders, the same sections rolling from one to the other, over and over, in one endless round. If one really wanted anything in exchange for his money, he must take his bit of land, or whatever the government should pledge to him, and exchange this for

corn or cattle or whatever the buyer might wish to give. Thus an exclusive paper currency, which is boasted as "*the* currency of modern civilization," would drive society back to the barbarian stage of barter.

Paper-money, banking, bills of exchange, are indeed inventions of civilization, which as a convenience of commerce are beyond praise. But their usefulness lies in the fact that these pledges upon paper are believed to represent real money which can be produced on demand. Destroy that faith, and what is paper-money worth? At the beginning of the war of American Independence, the "Continental money," issued in the name of the United Colonies, was forced into currency by act of Congress and by the necessities of the case. But as the war dragged on, and the resources of the public treasury were exhausted, and the issue of the contest seemed doubtful, this enforced "legal-tender" of the government so declined in value that it took a hatful of paper-dollars to buy a hat.* I cannot insist too strongly that Money is not a

* Gen. Baron von Kalb states in his diary that in 1780 he paid in Philadelphia four hundred dollars for a hat and the same for a pair of boots. This was in lawful paper-money. And he could have bought either for five dollars in gold!

promise to pay money, but is a commodity which has a value of its own.

The second part of the definition of money is that this commodity is one "which, for convenience and safety, is used as a medium of exchange between other values." The origin of money may readily be seen in a primitive state of society. The first form of exchange is simple barter. The traveller going into the interior of Africa, takes with him strings of beads, trinkets, rolls of cotton cloth, and other simple articles of use and ornament suited to the taste and the wants of savages, and these he barters for food and native products on the way. In the frontier settlements of civilized men the system of barter is sometimes resorted to as a temporary necessity. But this cannot last long if there is to be any progress of society. A makes clothes and B makes bread, and at first A may furnish B with a suit of clothes for three months' supply of bread. But B's clothes will last him a year, and long before that time A must have more bread. Now C makes hats, and for a suit of clothes he gives A three hats in exchange. B wants a hat, and A gives him one of his extra hats for more bread. But all three need other things which D has, and they must shift and contrive their ex-

changes so that each shall be supplied with what he needs of the labor of the others. But in the nature of things this sort of exchange grows inconvenient and burdensome, and must come to an end. So they agree among themselves upon some article which they all want and can make use of at any time, and agree to take this at a certain value for clothes, bread, hats, shoes, fuel—in short, for all the necessaries of life. In primitive communities this article may be simple and in a measure conventional. Thus, some tribes of Africa use a small shell called cowry; some tribes of Indians, cattle and furs. A friend of mine travelling in Arizona was offered by an Indian a hundred head of cattle for an article which the Indian coveted. As my friend did not propose to settle as a farmer, and could not take time to drive the cattle to a market, the offer was declined. But suppose a third person had said, "I want these cattle to stock my farm. I have here a nugget of gold worth a thousand dollars, the value of a hundred head; I will give this to the Indian and take the cattle, and he can give it to you for what he covets, and the gold you can sell for its full value in St. Louis, New York, London, Paris, anywhere in the world." This transaction would have been simple barter. But the

last article in the triple exchange, the nugget of gold, possessed qualities which fitted it to become a universal medium of exchange. It was not perishable like the cattle, neither had it a fancy value like my friend's article which the Indian coveted. Gold is durable; gold is of high value because of its relative scarcity and the cost of its production; gold can be divided into convenient portions, and each part will retain all the properties which give value to the whole; gold is portable, and gold is always in demand for its uses in the arts and for personal ornament. All these qualities are required in a universal medium of exchange, and these are combined in gold better than in any other commodity.

To save trouble and to give certainty, the weight, form, and relative value of gold as money are determined by the stamp of the government. And where there is gold to fall back upon, certificates on paper may save the trouble of handling and transporting the gold, and may pass current as money. But a money which shall serve all the purposes of exchange must be known and accepted throughout the world, and hence gold has come to be the universal standard of value.

But Money is not only a medium of exchange;

it is itself an article of exchange. Though gold fluctuates far less than other commodities, it is nevertheless equally subject with them to the great laws of trade. When money is scarce, other commodities are cheap, because it is difficult to get money in exchange for them. When money is plenty, other commodities are dear, because it is so easy to exchange them for money. Hence, if every man should get as much money as he wants, he would soon learn how little of other things he wanted his money would buy.

CHAPTER VII.

AIDS TO LABOR.

At the close of Chapter V. I alluded to the effect of skill, science, and machinery upon production and value. We have seen that in utilizing the capacities of nature for the service of man, Labor and Capital must go hand in hand. Now the object of Labor being utility, it is evident that whatever goes to increase the usefulness of any product will enhance the value of labor, and, on the other hand, whatever enhances the value of labor is a thing of utility. Hence it is obvious that skill—which is intelligence and knowledge applied to an act or work—increases the value of labor. A man always does a thing better for knowing how to do it—for doing it intelligently rather than mechanically. No one cares to employ an ignorant or clumsy workman. Even the commonest acts of manual labor, digging the soil, felling a tree, carrying a burden, are done the better for being done with knowledge and foresight. The workman who knows the material he works upon, and knows

how best to use his hands and his tools, who has acquired skill by study and experience—in a word, who has learned his trade—finds his labor most in demand. Hence education is the first and most important aid to labor; and best of all, education is self-help.

Not every single workman can own a machine, or even the simple tools of his trade. These he may have to hire or to borrow, or to receive from his employer. But every man's brain is his own, and all that he learns he has, and this knowledge he can carry with him wherever he goes and use at any time and place. Every acquisition of real knowledge increases his power to subdue nature and shape material things to useful ends; and increases also his means of happiness through the consciousness of what he is, what he knows, and what he can do. Prof. Louis Agassiz, in seeking for proofs of glacial action among the rocks of New England, once took with him to an out-of-the-way region a village blacksmith, to break and blast rocks for his inspection. The man was very curious to know what the Professor was about; and Agassiz, in his easy good-natured manner, gave him a good deal of instruction in geology. When the trip was ended, the Professor asked the smith what he should

pay him for his services; the smith answered, "Nothing, sir. You can't get me to take anything from you." "But," said Agassiz, "you have worked for me four days." "No matter for that," answered the smith, "what I've learned from you is worth more to me than all I've done for you. It will help me as long as I live." And he was right. For though the little science he had picked up might not help him directly in his work at the anvil, he would work more intelligently for knowing how the things he handled were made, and with more self-respect for feeling the spirit of knowledge and wisdom within him.

The first aim of the workman should be to make himself worth as much as possible in his business, be this high or low. Society is quick to discern intelligence and to appreciate its value. A freedman who had learned to use tools deftly was employed on a job for which he charged a dollar. His employer said, "You've done the work well, but I've had it done before for fifty cents." "But," said he, "I charges fifty cents for de work, and fifty cents for *know how*." It is the knowing how that pays; the skilful doing. Hence let the workman be educated—in general knowledge as much as possible—but above all in the special knowledge of

his own calling. In this view the old system of apprenticeship was of much benefit to the workman, in training him for his trade. If now-a-days the journeyman would spend the money that he wastes on tobacco or drink in getting useful books, in learning to draw plans and patterns, in studying how things are done in the best way, he would sooner find himself promoted to the place of a foreman or a master, and would earn the wages that skilled labor commands. Under no circumstances can knowledge, and especially that form of knowledge which is called skill, fail to be an aid to labor, the aid which the brain brings to the hand. And here government can aid the workman by technical schools and museums of industry and art.

Science aids labor in two ways. First, it relieves labor by enabling the workman to produce the same results with less outlay of time and strength. Thus chemistry has taught the farmer how to enrich the soil and increase his crop, with far less expenditure of manual labor than by the old processes of manuring; and the bleacher and the dyer how to save both labor and time by its treatment of their stuffs. Indeed there is hardly any department of industry in which Chemistry is not a fruitful and an economical auxiliary to labor.

And secondly, science aids labor by increasing the quantity and the variety of production, and thus enhancing the sum total of value. What an immense benefit has science been to mining, in simplifying the process of separating the metal from the ore, in reducing the percentage of waste, and in providing for the safety and the health of the workman. And in manufactures what branch is there which does not owe to science some improvement in the quality or some variety in the style of its productions, which has made them more saleable or has opened a wider market by awakening fresh tastes and desires? What wonderful novelties and splendors in color, for instance, has science evolved by the distillation of coal-tar, thus transforming a most unsightly and seemingly worthless refuse into a ministry of the beautiful and an agency of wealth. Every advance of science renders Nature more serviceable to man, and opens to Labor some new path to activity and prosperity,

Of machinery as an aid to Labor it is not necessary to speak. The whole civilized world bears witness to the progress of nations through that genius of invention which has created the printing press, the steam-engine, the cotton-gin, the spinning-jenny, the railroad, the telegraph, the sewing-ma-

chine, the mower, the reaper, the thresher, and the manifold contrivances now everywhere in use in the household, on the farm, in the factory, on the land and on the sea. The additions to the comfort and the wealth of human society by means of machinery could hardly be expressed by millions on millions of dollars. Upon the positive side of economy and utility, machinery bears witness to its own value.

But notwithstanding the gains of machinery to society at large, there is a feeling among workmen that what is called labor-saving machinery is antagonistic to their interests, and tends to supplant human labor. Is then a tool the enemy of the workman? But twenty men working with tools would soon supplant a hundred working with their hands alone. Now a machine is but a tool for many hands. If the production by machinery were limited to the amount produced before machinery was invented, there would be justice in the complaint that it had supplanted human labor. But machinery vastly increases production, and machinery renders possible to human labor what hands could never have accomplished alone; and thus machinery by degrees creates a demand for more hands than were ever before employed on the same work.

The invention of printing at first displaced thou-

sands of copyists who had been employed in multiplying books by the pen; but by cheapening books, and thus increasing the demand for them, it prepared the way for the employment of hundreds of thousands as typesetters and pressmen. Every new application of machinery to labor seems at first adverse to the workmen in that particular branch of industry, and it is small consolation to them that society will reap the benefits of the invention in cheaper and more abundant products. But these workmen who are temporarily displaced share in the general benefits resulting from machinery in other branches of industry, and will also eventually share its benefits in their own branch. The opening of railways displaced multitudes of stagedrivers and wagoners, but it created a demand for many more men as engineers, firemen, brakemen, porters, conductors, and for many more horses and wagons in shifting freight. And every workman shares in the benefits of cheap and rapid travel and transportation. What would civilized society do to-day without cotton-mills? Would any workman go back to the hand-loom wrought in every house as an expedient for improving the condition of the spinners? "The advance in wages which has taken place concurrently with the increasing use of labor-aiding

machinery is conclusive proof that such machinery, in the long run, increases rather than diminishes the demand for labor; hence the term 'labor-saving,' as applied to inventions, is a misnomer." Years ago, when a planing-machine was introduced in Philadelphia, the carpenters burnt it down. To-day no carpenter would wish to destroy a machine which has so increased his trade.

The revolution which machinery has introduced into manufactures, agriculture, and other modes of production—so much at variance with the old normal methods of labor—has not yet so fully adjusted itself to the conditions of human life that a final judgment can be pronounced upon its relative advantages and disadvantages to workmen. But Society will never, for the sake of any single class, relinquish the advantages which machinery has brought to its interests at large. Hence for workmen to make war upon machinery would array society against them as its enemies. Moreover, this would array classes of workmen against each other, since no class would consent to be deprived of the benefits which it receives from the use of machinery in other departments of labor.

On this point let us deal squarely and honestly with ourselves and with our fellow-men. You, for

instance, are a farm-hand, and are disposed to complain that agricultural machines lessen your chances of work and lower your wages. Sometimes you are tempted to smash a machine to pieces as if it were robbing you of your life. Now, why don't you go to the village near you and smash the looms in the cotton-mill, because machinery is the enemy of the workingman? Oh, you get the cloth so much cheaper by these great swift spinning-jennies than you could by a hand-loom, and you must have cheap clothes. But the cotton-spinner feels toward the jenny as you feel toward the mower and the reaper. He fancies (for he is just as mistaken as you are) that a power-loom is his enemy, that it has broken up his trade and lessened his wages. Well, you are sorry for him, but you must get your cotton cloth as cheaply as possible. Yet if you must have cheap clothing, he must have cheap food. And by means of agricultural machinery he gets his food much cheaper than it could be produced by hand-labor alone. What right can you have to destroy the machines which enable your poor neighbor to get his bread cheaply? The fact is that machinery tends to equalize itself over all trades and products. It pinches here and there, especially at the start, but in the end it makes life easier for the whole. Here,

then, as with the laws of trade, the true course is not to war blindly upon machinery, but to adapt ourselves to facts which cannot be changed.

But the best encouragement to labor is that all men should respect themselves and respect their fellows in their several callings. This implies of course that the calling is proper in itself. Every man is entitled to respect who does good honest work in a good honest calling. Since society must be served by various forms of manual labor, which are beneficial to all alike, therefore to do in the best manner the work which is given one in his place to do is a worthy ambition, and the fulfilling of the Divine law of labor. This is good Democracy and good Christianity. Yet we Americans are prone to put a stigma upon labor, as a bondage to be escaped, or at best a task to be endured, and as marking an inferior caste! What farmer's son or mechanic's son takes kindly to his father's occupation, or is willing to be apprenticed to a trade? Nobody cares to have a trade; he must needs have a "profession," though this be nothing higher than loafing or gambling. Even the barber's shop to which I used to go as a boy has been transformed into a "Physiognomical Hair-cutting Emporium." This feeling not only degrades labor, it degrades manhood,

and is cowardly and wicked alike in employer and employed. Jesus of Nazareth was a carpenter, and Paul was a tent-maker. A true Christian will seek to do his best in anything and everything which comes to his hands, and will respect every man who is faithful in his work whatever it may be. I have great respect for the shoemaker who can make boots that will not pinch my feet, for the tailor who can make a coat that will not hang like a bag, for a baker who can make bread that will be neither heavy nor sour. He should respect himself for the service he does to society, and deserves the respect of all for his skill in a useful calling.

I have a fancy for talking with workmen, for I always learn from them something which I am glad to know, and I am glad, too, if by any chance I can give them a practical hint in exchange. And certainly I would not fail to make them feel that I respect them in their calling as thoroughly as I respect myself and wish to be respected in my own. When once this moral element of respect shall be allied to work, then manual labor will become, as it should be, one of the moral forces of the world, not needing aid, but receiving honor.

CHAPTER VIII.

TRADES-UNIONS AND STRIKES.

THE chapter on Money has shown that Money is not the true measure of wealth to the individual or the nation. To be sure this is the American way of rating wealth: a man is worth so many thousands or hundreds of thousands of dollars. But in rating a man as worth a million dollars, we overlook the fact that all above what he spends upon his living, his tastes, his luxuries, is capital, either employed in ways that encourage labor and benefit society, or invested in property or in prospective enterprises which may eventually add to the productive forces of society. As means of personal expenditure and enjoyment the greater part of the rich man's possession is not wealth to him *apart* from the average of his fellows. The whole community shares the benefits of his investments and improvements, while the cares and anxieties, the risks and losses incident to the employment of capital, are exclusively his own. Once at an evening party, as I noticed the faultless gloves

of my old neighbor, Mr. A. T. Stewart, it ran through my head, "You have in your store thousands of pairs of gloves to choose from, yet you can wear but a single pair. I too can choose from your stock as good a pair as yours, and have none of the trouble of buying and selling ten thousand packages in order to wear one pair. To you as an individual your available riches do not consist in the vast number of things which you possess, but in the relatively small number which you can use and enjoy; and I doubt if I am really poorer than you."*

The same idea has recently been expressed in a philosophical form as follows: "An analysis of the wealth of Mr. Stewart would have revealed the fact that, with the exception of a million or so expended on a costly house and its furnishings, the remaining millions represented stores, mills, machinery, stock in trade, and circulating capital in process of continual disbursement as the wages of labor. That such an investment was of the highest possible advantage to labor is matter of easy demonstration. It stood for a productive force, in the legal power and under the skilful control of the owner, but far more fruitful, so far as good wages and the market

* "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." LUKE 12: 15.

for labor were concerned, than if the power and skill were attempted to be exercised by the employé on his own account."*

Another writer puts this notable case still more forcibly thus: "We must bear in mind that Mr. Stewart was no less a laborer than the clerks that stood behind his counters. It was no contemptible service which he performed for mankind, in managing for their benefit a property of many millions of dollars. If his vast property had been owned by a joint-stock company, the stockholders would have been only too glad to pay a very large remuneration to a man of such financial talent as Mr. Stewart possessed, to act as their manager. The labor which he performed was of a kind which always commands the highest compensation. In this view alone it would be difficult to prove that the compensation he received for his labor was at all extravagant. The most careful examination might show, we think, it would show, that he managed that whole vast property for the supply of human want for a very small remuneration."†

Thus it is seen that the wealth of Mr. Stewart as a merchant and a capitalist—who by the laws of

* "The Nation," No. 691, page 190.

† "*Economics, or the Science of Wealth*," by Julian M. Sturtevant, Chap. III., page 33.

his own nature and the laws of trade was constrained to use his rare ability and the vast means at his disposal in the constant production and distribution of wealth—was quite another thing from the wealth which he as an individual was capable of appropriating to objects and interests exclusively his own. What a man is able to expend upon himself—to distribute over the whole circle of his interests, desires, and tastes—is the measure of wealth to him, and not the capital which is "out at sea," subject to laws of production and trade quite beyond his control.

The English have a way of defining what a man is worth by his income: he is worth a thousand or ten thousand pounds a year. This is nearer the truth than the American way of rating him by his estimated capital. But an Englishman of ample income is likely to convert a portion of his yearly receipts into capital for further production, so that instead of being consumed in his personal expenses it again becomes the stimulant of labor, and the servant of society. Hence, when speaking of wealth as a possession which is consciously realized by the individual, we should not estimate his riches by the amount of money, treasures, property, which he is reputed to own, but by the amount of values which

he actually consumes or is able to use and enjoy in satisfying his own wants, notions, and desires. In this view the scale of distance between rich and poor is greatly reduced. All this is plain enough to any one who thinks. Yet how many labor under the delusion, that money represents the real value which one possesses for use and enjoyment, and that he is rich in the ratio of the money he has at command or laid up in store!

Hence, also, the delusion that government can create money, or corporations can pay money at will and indefinitely, without regard to an equivalent in work or in the products of labor. Many a workman is possessed with the notion that his employer is richer than he by all the excess of the employer's capital above his own wages, and that the employer grows rich by robbing him and his fellow-workmen of their share in the distribution of wealth. To remedy this inequality workmen have had recourse to many expedients—first of all to Trades-Unions and to Strikes.

A Trades-Union is an association of workmen organized for mutual protection in their wages, and in all that pertains to the conditions and the products of labor. There can be no objection to such a Union either upon legal or upon moral grounds.

The right to form such an association belongs to that freedom of action which is the first right of the individual. Of course he surrenders a portion of that freedom in entering into the association; but this he does voluntarily, and therefore in his own right. It is a necessary condition of living in human society that each individual member of the community shall surrender somewhat of his personal liberty to the good of the whole. But before joining a Trades-Union a workman should satisfy himself that there is no danger of surrendering his liberty of action to the control of self-seeking managers, or of a majority of second-rate workmen whose measures may hinder his own success in his trade and make him a pack-horse for the lazy and the incompetent.

Where a Union is formed in good faith and honestly administered, the workman may profit by this closer association with his fellows, and in all matters of work and wages he will have the advantage of the strength that lies in numbers and in unity of action. The common treasury, too, for the relief of needy and disabled members and of widows and orphans, may prove of service to him, and at least gives the comfort of something to fall back upon. Still it is worth while for him to consider

whether he would not be more sure of getting his money back if he should invest a portion of his earnings in a savings-bank, in Government Bonds, or in a policy of Life Insurance. What he pays in taxes to the Union, and what he loses when on strikes, if carefully saved from steady wages, might soon enable him to have a cottage of his own. The practical worth of Trades-Unions is a matter of experiment to be tested by time.

But there is one attitude of these Unions toward both workmen and the public which, in its legal and its moral aspects as well, calls for more serious attention: I mean the use of such combinations to enforce the demands of workmen by means of strikes. The right of each and every workman to refuse to work except at his own rates is indisputable. He is the absolute owner of himself, and it is absolutely within his discretion to set a value upon his labor. But every other workman has the same right for himself, and the capitalist has an equal right to set the terms upon which he will engage his workmen. By the same right by which the individual may fix his own terms of work he may combine with others in a joint refusal to work except on terms which they lay down; under, however, these two limitations—that they shall not

attempt to coerce other workmen to come into their terms, and shall do nothing to endanger the peace and safety of society. The selfsame right which warrants the workman in setting his price upon his labor forbids him to impose these terms upon another workman. Any other workman has the same right to take his place on terms which satisfy him, as he has to throw it up because the terms do not suit him.

An Englishwoman, who has proved herself a good friend of the workman, has made this clear and sensible appeal to workmen on a strike for higher wages:

"The great employer must now weigh with himself whether it will be better for him to give you what you want or to let you go. If he decides to let you go, you must remember that it was you yourselves who put him to the option; you must abide by your bargain, and go honorably to look for labor elsewhere, without seeking to molest him in any way, or to interfere with his future arrangements. 'Ah, but,' you will say, 'the contest is not a fair one. He has got capital to back him, and the moment we turn away he can bring men from the north of Scotland or the south of England to fill our places.' Now just think for a moment: will his

capital induce a man who is earning twenty-one shillings in Scotland to come and work for him for twenty, or a man who is working nine hours elsewhere to come and work ten for him for the same pay? Certainly not; his capital will only enable him to induce a man who is earning nineteen shillings to come and take twenty from him, or a man who is working eleven hours to come and work ten for him. And as long as there is a man anywhere who would be glad of such a rise, what business in all the world have you to try and stand between him and his good fortune? What right have you to tell others that they shall not be content with something because it did not satisfy you? How would you like, if you saw a loaf marked *6d.* in a baker's shop, and you wanted to go in and buy, how would you like if a rival baker placed himself in the doorway and declared you should not buy the loaf under *7d.*, which was what he charged? You would say that he had no right to stand between you and your bread. And no more right have you to stand between any other man and his bread."*

With what justice can men complain of "the tyranny of capital" who themselves resort to the tyranny of proscription and violence to deter others

* The Rights of Labor and the Nine Hours' Movement.

from earning their bread in their own way? Wishing well to peaceful Trades-Unions, I must repeat the cautions already given.

"In the first place, these associations, so far as their object is to raise the wages of labor, aim at a result which either cannot be attained at all, or could equally well and surely be obtained without them. If labor is redundant—if two men are looking for one employer—no Trades-Union, no power on earth, can permanently raise wages or prevent them from falling. If labor is scarce—if two masters are looking for one man—no master can prevent wages from rising, and no union is needed to raise them.

"In the second place, Trades-Unions, in order to gain their object in the face of adverse circumstances (and it is in such alone that their operation is even apparently required), can only succeed by means equally unjust, oppressive, and violent. They have to prevent redundant laborers from competing with employed ones; to prevent those who have no work from offering to work on lower terms than others in order to obtain employment; to prevent those who are starving and anxious to earn 3*s.* a day from replacing those who insist on 4*s.*"*

* Grey: "Mistaken Aims of the Artisan Class," p. 284.

The most sacred boon which modern society has won for itself is that of personal liberty—the right of every man to think, speak, and act for himself to the utmost extent possible, without infringing upon the same right in other men. This is the glorious product of long ages of struggle, war, revolution against oppressions in Church, State, and society. Man at last is free; the individual man in and of himself. Society will never consent to relinquish this hard-won right. It will never suffer a caste of workmen to tyrannize over individual workmen and rob them of their personal liberty of action. To allow this in such a case would be to surrender that right which is the safety and the glory of the modern State. Neither will society allow men singly or in mobs to assail with violence the right of any man to do what he pleases with his own, so long as he does not thereby do a public injury. These are rights which society must and will defend to the last extremity. To surrender them would be to give up all that is worth living for in human society.

Cases may even arise in which government should interfere to put down a strike; as for instance in a time of famine, if bakers should strike for exorbitant wages, and leave the people to starve.

But such action would be exceptional, like arbitrary measures in time of shipwreck or of war.

When employers are unjust, strikes sometimes help the workman by appealing to the selfish instincts of capital. But experience has shown that in the long run the losses by a strike are greater than the gain of increased wages. An enforced increase of wages in one department reacts against workmen in other departments, who, as members of the community, must pay the increased price of goods in that particular branch of industry. If all wages are forced up simultaneously, nobody is any better off, since prices must go up in the same ratio.

Wages must be governed by the selling price of the products of labor. If the community will not pay for those products enough to cover the wages demanded, then in making an advance the employer ceases to be a capitalist encouraging industry, and becomes an almoner dispensing charity, and the workman a beggar receiving alms; and when it comes to this, Capital and Labor will soon go down in one common ruin.

CHAPTER IX.

LEGISLATION AND LABOR.

TRADES-UNIONS and Strikes not having wrought a charm for workmen, their next resource has been an appeal to the State to aid them by public works and by labor laws. By such an appeal the American workman virtually renounces that idea of the State, which is the pride and glory of our history, and which has placed the American Republic in such enviable contrast to many countries of the Old World. In Germany, in Austria, and till recently in France, the theory of society has been that man is the subject and the servant of the state; that he exists, not as an individual whose personality is an endowment from the Creator which must first of all be taken into account—respected, and protected in its native prerogatives of reason, will, freedom—but exists only as a factor in a vast machine, to be shaped and fitted to its place and kept in order by constant supervision of the police. Not the man and his rights, but the state and its behests, have been the reason of the existence of human society. The state claimed control over the subject in his

occupations, his associations, his religion; the state used him as its servant, as its soldier; the state professed to exercise over him a "paternal government," holding him in leading-strings and coercing him by penalties from the beginning to the end of his days!

The American Declaration of Independence overthrew this theory of government, and asserted human personality as, by the will of God, the chief factor and concern of civil government. That Declaration put man foremost, as having rights and interests which the state did not create, cannot destroy, and *must not meddle with:* "All men are created equal; they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; to *secure* these rights, governments are instituted among men." Government is no longer the father, the tutor, to keep its subjects in ward, to assign to them their occupations and their portions. Subjects are grown to be citizens—of full age, with liberty to gain their livelihood and seek their happiness as best they may; and government is their sentinel to guard their liberty and "secure" them in working out for themselves, each after his own will, the great problem of life, the pursuit of happiness

through personal freedom of action. That was a proud day for Humanity when America proclaimed these birthrights of the individual in his Manhood! Millions on millions have quit the "paternal governments" of the Old World to enjoy the blessings of self-government in a land where the state leaves every man free to live and thrive in his own way.

How humiliating, then, is the spectacle when American citizens cast away the birthright which has made them the envy of the nations, and beg the government to take them under its care, to help them make a living, or to make a living for them, in exchange for this surrender of their own freedom of enterprise and action! There have been men upon this soil, farmers, mechanics, plain honest workmen, who would endure hunger, privation, poverty, death, in the struggle to shake off the interference of government in their rights of person, of family, of thought, of action. Such were the men who planted New England, such the men who made America free. Is the American workman of to-day so spiritless, so cowardly, that because of a passing depression in work and wages he would put himself and his children back into the hands of the state to be managed and patronized? Will he sell his liberty for a bit of bread? "Man shall not live by

bread alone." His physical wants must be cared for, and in a sense these have the first claim upon his time and thought; but to live for these marks the slave; the *man* lives and cares for his highest self. That he may be himself, may form and realize his manhood, he must be free from supervision and control in his manner of life, so far and so long as this does no injustice to others, no injury to the public weal. But just as surely as he invokes government to provide him with work and bread, begs the state to enable him to live, he opens the way for the state to interfere with and direct his whole life. If once his self-respect capitulates to hunger, it will be easy for government to crush out his manhood and make him its slave. The American workman should think long and well before he tempts the State to tamper with the right of self-support.

Some fancy that they could provide against this risk by calling upon the State only for an outfit, say in the form of capital or of land, and for legislation in defence of labor. Now if the State would act the part of a guardian to its citizens, as wards entitled to an outfit on coming of age, there must be no favoritism in its grants. Should the Government single out certain persons for gratuitous help, it would create a caste either of dependants or of fa-

vorites. In the former case, it would excite murmuring among those who were taxed for the living of their neighbors; in the latter, it would excite the envy of those who as citizens should have an equal claim to the bounty of the public treasury. Such bounties would burden the community with unbearable taxes.

But any such system of State gratuity to workmen would break down before the laws of trade and of human nature. Suppose, for instance, the State should allot to every citizen so many acres of land. This has been done very nearly by the Homestead Bill of 1862, which puts a farm into the hands of every man who chooses to go and take possession of it. The old political watch-cries of "Land for the Landless" and "Vote Yourself a Farm," are as nearly as possible answered by the provisions of that act; and its beneficent working is shown in the creation of thousands of homes for the poor, where families are growing up as thrifty tillers of the soil. But not even the Homestead Bill has proved a panacea for poverty, nor would the bulk of our workmen avail themselves of it. They prefer the town. "Do you live on a farm? Do you care to till the soil? Do you bring up your children to the idea of farm-work?" You have a trade, and

what you need is a cheap home near your work. If you should choose to quit your trade for farming, your labor bestowed on the land would yield you no more than a living, unless you could have access to a market or a railroad. Then would come the temptation to sell or to mortgage, in order to get other work. It is the boast of the French peasant that he owns the soil which he tills. Yet, for the sake of getting land enough to support his family, he burdens himself with mortgages, and when he dies there is nothing for his children. Thus land intended for a homestead is bought and sold under the common laws of trade. How small a portion of the land given in bounty to soldiers has furnished homes to the men it was meant to reward. The bounty-scrip has been bought up by speculators.

Yes, by all means get a farm if you think you can learn farming and would like it. Join a well-equipped farming colony. Bring up your children in the healthy, honest work of tilling the soil. The government is liberal in providing you with this opportunity, and you and your children may find your profit in accepting it. But do not fancy that any grant of land or money from government will stimulate the average workman to self-support, or serve as a substitute for hard honest work. Hu-

man nature should be taught not to lean, but to stand. And government is the worst prop it could have to lean upon.

Guarding well this point, we may look soberly at what government may rightly and wisely do in behalf of labor.

1. Government may prescribe by law how many hours shall constitute a normal working-day. This is on the obvious principle that where contracts are made on time, there must be some legal standard to which to refer in cases of dispute. But if government should attempt to fix the rate of wages by the day, or to forbid special contracts for longer hours, or for piece-work and extra time, or in any way to compel employers to engage workmen at fixed prices for fixed hours, or to compel workmen to work at rates fixed by law and no others, it would strike a blow at that personal liberty which is the root and the life of a free commonwealth, and which is more important to the workman than to any other member of the community, since he has so little to compensate him for the loss of it.

2. It is not only the right, but the duty of government to provide by law for the health and the safety of workmen in mines, factories, and in any hurtful or hazardous occupation, and also to pro-

vide against the premature or excessive employment of their wives and children. But such legislation is not for workmen as workmen, but as citizens; it rests upon sanitary reasons, it being the duty of government to care for the public health and to protect its citizens against nuisances and outrages which would impair their value to the commonwealth.

3. Government can fix the standard of the currency, and protect money against falsification and fraud. And this is *all* that the government can wisely and rightfully do with regard to money. I have shown in Chapter VI. that government can neither create money nor insure money against fluctuations in value. During the war the government of the United States made paper-dollars by the million, and decreed that these should be a legal tender for debts. Yet for a considerable period these paper-dollars were worth only 37 cents of a gold-dollar of 100 cents; and not all the power of the government could make 37 cents in paper equal 100 cents in gold.

The government would commit a great folly and wrong by going into the business of banking as one of its prerogatives. The Constitution gives to the national government the right "to coin money, reg-

ulate the value thereof and of foreign coin." It is obviously for the convenience and the safety of the public that this power of certifying the genuineness and the value of money by coinage should belong only to the general government. It is to be noted, however, that although the Constitution forbids the states "to emit bills of credit," it nowhere expressly authorizes the national government to do this. Hence the creation of paper-money by act of Congress is of doubtful constitutionality, and it is certainly of more than doubtful expediency. It is a calamity to the country that by having recourse to this expedient in the dire necessity of raising means for saving the Union, the government has accustomed people to look to itself as a great national bank to gather in unlimited resources, furnish unlimited facilities to labor and trade, and issue unlimited supplies. Banking is a business of peculiar skill and responsibility, demanding the confidence which is the growth of long experience. No agency is more unfit for this than a government which, as in the United States, may change its financial capacity and policy every fourth year. Labor cannot thrive upon uncertainty. It requires steady work and steady pay. Speculation is its ruin. And the promise of government to make money plenty

and easy by legislation is always a delusion. Such legislation is a fraud upon labor.

4. Government can protect the rights of labor by refusing to give a legal sanction to monopolies. Competition is the life of trade even under coöperative stores, and trade gives to labor its support and its reward. A monopoly may seem for the time to encourage labor at higher rates, but it is quite as likely to impose a low rate of wages by having control of the market, and must in the end limit the area of production, and by arbitrary prices work injustice to other departments of trade. Government has no right to build up one class of citizens to the prejudice of the rest. Hence government cannot concede to any class of workmen a monopoly in their trade, nor may government itself become a monopoly by assuming the control of labor to the exclusion of private competition.

5. Government can aid and encourage labor by means of public works. But this should be done only when such works are required for the proper equipment of the government and for the public safety; as, for instance, government buildings, forts, lighthouses, breakwaters, coast and land surveys, navy-yards and arsenals; or when works of public utility give promise of a fair return for the labor and cost

of their construction. For government to undertake works not required for public service or safety, and not likely to repay their cost, just for the sake of giving employment to labor, would be a wrong to the community, and eventually to labor itself. Such works could be carried forward only by taxing the citizens at large for things useless or unremunerative, and this tax would draw out of the pockets of workmen, directly or indirectly, the very profits of their labor. All wasteful and unnecessary expenditure on the part of government is in the end a wrong to the very classes for whom it is intended as a temporary relief. Hence public works should not be undertaken primarily with a view to employing labor; but when demanded upon other grounds, they may be entered upon at such time and on such a scale as shall be most advantageous to the workmen engaged.

6. Government may positively and most beneficially assist the workman by reducing as fast as possible the taxes on himself and the products of his labor. Better steady economy of taxation than spasmodic enterprises of relief. Not only is economy in the administration of the State a direct saving to the pockets of workmen, but by this example in the government a suitable spirit of econ-

omy is fostered and ennobled among the people at large.

Especially should governments keep down their armaments to the lowest figure which the public safety and defence will permit. In European nations the cost of standing armies is the burden that presses most heavily upon labor. In his young manly vigor the workman is taken from his work, his trade, his home, and compelled to give years to the exercise of arms. Then till after his prime he is held liable to military service at the call of the government. And all through life he must pay, pay, pay to keep up armies which eat out the life of the country for their support, and give back nothing to its productive industry. True, the feeding, the clothing, the equipment of hundreds of thousands of soldiers give constant employment to thousands of other men. But the soldiers would equally require food and clothing if they were civilians, and at the same time they would contribute to the productive material of the country which is now taxed for their support. So far, indeed, as the presence of an army gives a sense of stability and security in affairs, an army is the protector of industry and thrift. But a better guaranty of peace between civilized nations is the peaceful disposition

of the people. Workmen do not want war. In Europe they know too well the cost of actual war, and the baneful effect on trade of the rumor and apprehension of war. In this country, though the army is reduced to a cipher, workmen are suffering from the financial burdens, and the worse financial demoralization caused by the war for the preservation of the Union. Workmen by instinct are peaceful, and that government will best serve their interests which shall study to preserve the public peace. Let workmen and all patriotic citizens band together in every country to elect to the National Legislature, and promote to the highest posts of political administration, only men who are pledged to advocate peace through arbitration, and the reduction of armaments.

7. Government may promote work and wages by the salutary control of immigration. The United States government has done immense service to mankind by maintaining the right of expatriation, and securing by treaty the recognition of this right by many foreign powers. It has made men free to wander the world over for a home, and to settle where they will. This was the duty and the glory of a nation founded in the equality of men. But the time has now come when, for the preserva-

tion of this principle, our duty to the nation, to the immigrant, and to mankind, calls for a return to the natural laws of trade for the regulation of immigration in this great labor market of the world. The discussion of this topic will require a separate chapter. But this chapter points to the conclusion that whenever a government shall faithfully discharge the seven duties herein specified, labor will have a fair and open field for its own development. But should government go beyond these limits, though with the honest purpose of aiding or protecting labor, it would trespass upon that freedom of action which is the manhood of the laborer and the guaranty of enterprise and of success in labor itself.

CHAPTER X.

IMMIGRATION.

As I write this chapter the whole country is agitated by the opposition of California to the further immigration of Chinese to our Pacific coast. The President's veto has saved us from the dishonor and disgrace of violating a treaty which was made originally at our own instance and under our dictation. It was in exchange for privileges which we demanded for American commerce and American citizens in China that we in equity conceded to the Chinese that facility of immigration which has brought such an army of laborers to our shores.

With the purely political aspects of this question we can here have nothing to do; but in the higher aspects of national growth and prosperity this is more than a "Chinese" question; it is the whole question of immigration as affecting the labor and the *morale* of the nation.

It is well worth pondering that the opposition to Chinese laborers proceeds chiefly from laborers who, a few years ago, themselves came as strangers from Ireland and from Germany to find work and a

home in America. Nobody mobbed them nor tried to drive them out of the land. As poor men they found sympathy and help; but now they lift their hands against other poor men who have come to seek work and wages at their side. The American people, people who have the American spirit of freedom and of humanity, may well feel that their hospitality has been abused, their liberty perverted, their citizenship dishonored, and ask themselves whether such immigrants, from whatever country—men who come here only to make a living, and who use their own freedom and our free institutions for the purpose of oppressing the poor of other nations and races—whether *such* immigrants should be encouraged to come and settle among us, and should be invested with the sacred dignity of citizenship!

This is more a question of labor than of race. Let fifty thousand Welshmen, Icelanders, Poles, land at San Francisco, and offer to do all manner of work for fifty cents a day cheaper than the workmen on the ground, and there would be the same hue and cry against them and their employers. The color, the dress, the manners, the religion of the Chinese are used as an appeal to popular prejudice; but the real ground of opposition to them is not what they eat, what they wear, what they be-

lieve, but that they compete with other workmen by cheap labor. Let the Chinese refuse to work for lower wages than others, and do their work no better, and the demand for them as workmen would fall off, and their immigration would decrease in the same ratio. At bottom, then, the question is that of foreign immigration as affecting home labor.

I have already extolled the service which the United States have rendered to the poor of all nations in asserting the right of expatriation, and offering the privilege of asylum. To the American people it is largely due that of late years the poor of the Old World have had the right to quit their native land unchallenged, except in case of crime, the right to renounce allegiance to the sovereignty under which they were born, and without drawback from that former allegiance, to be naturalized as citizens of another country and live under the protection of its laws. From this noble championship of the rights of universal man America could not recede without being false to the doctrines of her own Declaration of Independence. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," are the natural and equal rights of all men.

But having vindicated the right of expatriation, having opened the door for every man to go forth

from his narrow and irksome surroundings and make himself a citizen of the world, are we under any obligation to Liberty or to Humanity to foster the immigration of laborers to America by special measures of policy or of philanthropy? Should not immigration now be left to the normal influence of opportunity, of means, of wants—in a word, to the great natural law of Labor, in demand and supply? Hitherto our policy has been to invite the whole world to our shores. Under the notion that we had an unlimited amount of land and needed an unlimited amount of labor, our land policy was framed to court immigration, and philanthropic societies sought to tempt foreign workmen to the land of cheap homes and high wages. Political devices soon added the proffer of citizenship, with the chance of government employment and of promotion to office; and thus the stream of immigration from Europe was swollen to hundreds of thousands per annum. At the outset this sudden influx of laborers gave an impulse to the industries of the country—to mining, manufactures, railroads, and to the settlement of government lands; and the bulk of these foreigners, as industrious and frugal workmen, have added greatly to the permanent wealth of the country. For a time all went on swimming-

ly; but when the spirit of speculation was abruptly checked, when manufactures and trade came to a stand, and fictitious values collapsed, it became apparent that there were more workmen than work and more productions of all sorts than people cared to buy. For it is true of labor as of everything else, that it obeys unchangeable natural laws, and all artificial devices to stimulate the demand for labor and the wages of labor above the normal conditions of society react to the disadvantage of the very class whom such measures are intended to benefit.

Labor is itself a thing to be bought and sold at the price at which it is wanted. When there is too much labor in the market wages must go down. Now by holding out to foreign workmen the inducement of high wages and cheap homes, America has precipitated upon herself the very evils from which those workmen were invited to flee. In trying to escape from a wreck men may so crowd upon one another as to swamp the lifeboat. At first our native workmen found themselves promoted to higher grades of labor by the pressure of common laborers beneath them. But as this stratum increased and crowded upward, American workmen began to be merged in the great mass around them, and gradually to yield under the pressure of competition. By-

and-by the whole mass of labor began to fluctuate and sink by the settling of the foundations down to the normal level of average. And for this there is no remedy but time and the proportionate shrinkage of immigration.

Let us look calmly, steadily, at facts as they are. The conditions which thirty years ago rendered immigration from Europe to the United States so desirable have greatly changed on both sides. The people of Great Britain and of Germany especially, which a generation ago furnished by far the larger part of our immigrant population, are no longer in a condition to call for our political sympathy or to need a refuge from oppression. In Great Britain there is a steady advance in the political privileges of the masses of the people. In the German empire there is now a liberal Constitution, and a Parliament chosen by absolutely universal suffrage. If people are not as free in Germany as we are in America, they have just the same means which we have of procuring just and good laws by the votes of deputies chosen by themselves, that is, by the voice of the majority. We have no longer any call to encourage Germans or Irishmen to come to America out of sympathy for their grievances at home. If refugees from oppression, not themselves

criminals, shall hereafter seek a refuge on our soil, they will find a welcome and a home in the good old spirit of American liberty and humanity. But the state of the Old World no longer requires that we should organize an exodus for the oppressed to a land of liberty.

The condition of our own country is also so much changed that our best interests as a nation, and our duty to mankind as an example, require that immigration should be restricted to its natural movement rather than stimulated by special inducements. Railroad building, factory building, mining have been so overdone that it will require years of slow and prudent management to regain that state of healthy prosperity which will give to our popution steady work at fair wages. A population in which any bad turn of affairs will throw thousands out of employment, does not need to be increased in a larger ratio than the laws of nature will provide. Moreover, our great need now is, to mould our mixed population into one national life, with a common spirit of knowledge, of freedom and of virtue. We dare not dilute too far the elements of national character, if we would make republican institutions a blessing and a benefit to the world. Hence it is a duty that the government owes to

the people, and the people both native and foreign owe to themselves, to refuse to have thrust upon them the paupers, the criminals, and the dangerous classes of foreign nations. This is due also to the well-meaning immigrant who leaves his home with the honest purpose of bettering his condition in America. It is not only our right, it is our duty, and a duty not only to ourselves, but to the sacred interests of liberty throughout the world, to refuse a refuge in America to the freebooters and pirates of human society.

This done, immigration can be trusted to regulate itself by the laws of labor. There is nothing in the world to do, but to let it wisely alone. If German and Irish immigrants in California wish to keep out Chinese competitors, let them be as diligent, as honest, as sober, as industrious, as cleanly, as saving as the Chinese, and do their work as cheaply and as well.

There are two things which neither laws nor mobs can ever reconcile—cheap labor and high wages. It is not the capitalist alone who wishes for cheap labor. The workman wishes it in everything which he does not himself make. He wishes to get the highest price for his own labor, and to pay the lowest for labor done for him. These two

extremes must be left to balance one another in their own way. The only thing which government can do on the side of political economy is to forbid *vicious* immigration, and refrain from stimulating immigration in any form.

But the moral side of this question is much graver than the material, and also more gravely affects the material. Now that every immigrant may become a citizen and every citizen at twenty-one years of age is a voter, all the great interests of freedom for America and for the world demand the utmost regard to *character* in the constituents of our population. A growing danger to our institutions and a special danger to workmen is the distinction of classes and of races. This Republic must be a Nation, homogeneous in spirit and in life. It cannot live, if like Turkey it shall become a mere bundle of nationalities. Every voter, wherever born, should be American in feeling. The honest vote of a German or an Irishman is worth as much as the vote of a negro, if given in the hearty spirit of American freedom. But we want no "German vote" nor "Irish vote" nor "Negro vote" as representing a race or a caste. Hence, it may be wise for Congress to extend the term of naturalization to ten years.

I suggest this in the interest of workmen as well as of the country. All that makes America of such value to the foreigner has been developed through the political freedom of the country and the religious character of the people. It is the least we can ask of those who come to share these benefits, that they shall be trained to a thorough knowledge of and sympathy with these principles and virtues, and be required to pass an examination upon the Constitution of the United States before they are allowed to vote. With that prejudice against race and religion which once took the form of "Nativism" and got up a "Native American" party in politics, I have never had the least sympathy. The good sense of the American people will always resist such a narrow and exclusive policy. The Constitution provides that the President of the United States shall be a native-born citizen, but aside from this, there can be no difference between native and naturalized citizens in political rights and privileges. But as all are equally citizens in law, so all should be honestly citizens in fact. The native should not attempt to dispossess the foreigner who has acquired by law the same rights with himself. And the foreigner, on being naturalized, should for ever cease to think, act, vote, as a for-

eigner, and should live loyally as an American citizen. If he chooses to remain a citizen of a foreign country, he is free to live here, and will be protected so long as he shall obey the laws; but if he becomes an American citizen, he has no right to use his freedom here for getting up conspiracies against the government he has left behind him, nor for fomenting revolution against our institutions of government and of society. This is a Republic, and as such has a government which must be respected and laws which must be obeyed. The worst enemies of workmen are demagogues who seek to turn liberty into anarchy. If America offers to the foreign workman benefits which his own country denies to him, why should not he undergo a special training for these privileges, instead of snatching them unbought from the hands and the pockets of workmen whose enterprise and thrift have made the country what it is. The builder of a house can choose his tenants and fix his rent; may not the builders of a nation elect whom they will receive into it as citizens and upon what terms? Because they have built for themselves a house larger and statelier than any other, are they obliged to convert this into a refuge, hospital, or barrack for the whole world? Rather let the rest of mankind

pay an entrance fee for such lodgment, or tear down their own habitations and build again after this model. Is there any reason for a communism of nations which would not compel us also to a communism of families? Do good-will, reciprocity, fraternity, freedom of trade and of intercourse, international fellowship, require that each nation shall open to all others an unlimited participation in the privileges and possessions which it has wrought out for itself? Then in the degree in which a nation shall become enlightened and prospered, should it cease to be a nation, and yield itself a willing prey to all other peoples. Thus, instead of being a benefit to mankind as a model and a guide, by holding up its distinctive features to emulation, each foremost nation would dilute its own distinctive worth in the dull sea of cosmopolitism. But if cosmopolitism is thus to supercede nationalism, in the name of Humanity, why has the Creator stamped upon humanity itself the indelible distinctions of race, color, temperament, and stamped upon the globe such varieties of feature and of climate adapted to these varieties of physical and mental condition in mankind? The first duty of the State is to preserve and to fulfil its prerogative of self-development for the highest advantage

of its own citizens. By doing this in the spirit of voluntary affiliation with other peoples, respecting their individuality while developing its own—it shall best contribute to the welfare of the whole human family. And it is a special duty of the government of the United States, having such momentous interests of liberty and humanity in its keeping, to protect its *bonâ-fide* citizens, born or trained to such interests as their charge for posterity, against an invasion of speculators in labor, in trade, in capital, or in politics, who have nothing in common with the nation as an inheritance, and nothing in sympathy with liberty or with humanity as a trust for mankind. The early settlers of America, for the most part, had higher aims than the improvement of their physical condition; they came to found an empire, to spread Christianity, to secure civil and religious liberty, to advance great human interests, and these high motives sustained them under trials and wants such as the European emigrant knows little of in coming to the America of to-day. To the modern European money is commonly the highest motive to emigration; and he values the freedom that America proffers him chiefly as a means of bettering his outward condition. But in quitting the restraints and burdens of his

native land, he brings with him the notion that government is at once the cause and cure of the evils which happen to workmen; and hence if through ill-luck, improvidence, or the times, the evils of the Old World overtake him here, he blames the government and insists that this must either help him or get out of the way. That is, foreign workmen, disappointed in their dreams of sudden prosperity in the United States, propose to help themselves by overturning the whole structure of American liberty, and to introduce the European notion of protection and patronage by government to the exclusion of personal freedom.

It is a kindness to such agitators to warn them in time that such schemes and notions can never succeed in the United States. The American People are patient, tolerant, even magnanimous toward errors of doctrine. They are long-suffering to an extreme toward demagogues and agitators. But they will never go back into the political darkness and drudgery from which as a nation they emerged. They will never yield to the management of government the grand inalienable right of personal freedom.

CHAPTER XI.

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM.—THE THEORY STATED.

FROM being a suppliant of the state for aid, to being the master for whom the state must work, is a long stride in the theory of government, which could hardly be made except through the stages of anarchy and revolution. Yet Socialists propose to make it at a single leap, and in democratic countries by the bare votes of majorities. But there is that in human society which is stronger than majorities. There is a sense of right rooted in our nature, which no force of numbers nor of armies can extirpate. There are sentiments and customs, the growth of generations, it may be of ages, which are the indissoluble fibre of modern society—such as personal independence, the right of acquisition, and of possession, the sacredness of the family and of inheritance. There are natural laws shaping the material and social development of mankind, laws which gather up the acts of myriads of independent wills and weave these into a logical sequence of

events—laws at once as changeful and as changeless as the tides. With Society thus constituted and thus intrenched Socialists will have to reckon in attempting to realize their scheme of the state; and they would be wise to reckon with society before venturing upon a scheme of such folly and ruin. On this point they cannot be too often warned.

No doubt there are evils in society to be removed, wrongs to be redressed, privileges to be curtailed, institutions to be abolished; and reforms may now be effected by discussion and agitation and through the ballot, which once would have demanded a violent revolution. But such reforms apply only to excrescences of society; they do not touch its substance and life. Socialism, however, aims to subvert society itself, in its entire constitution, to overthrow property as vested in the individual, to overthrow manhood as possessing personal powers and maintaining ancestral rights, and to overthrow the family as based upon monogamy with its separate rights of inheritance. But these are rights which society will never surrender to the will of a majority; it will defend itself against political assassination as it would defend itself against banditti or beasts of prey; defend itself with the

desperation of life—with a courage, force, and persistence which are sure to win. In the last resort thousands of Socialists will fight against their own theory when turned upon themselves. The farmers of the West may agitate for the control of the railroads, for the seizure of the property of corporations, and a division of the spoils. But let the tramps try this communistic experiment upon the farmers, seizing their barns, stock, and well-tilled lands, and we should soon see an uprising for the defence of the rights of property, of manhood, of home.

American society has been tolerant of Mormonism, Freeloveism, Shakerism, and all sorts of social experiments, but let the attempt be made to force upon the people community of families or of goods and it would be put down as sharply and decisively as was the Commune in Paris in 1871. Therefore I say kindly but earnestly to workmen who are tempted by theories of Communism or of Socialism, reckon first with society. Do not throw yourselves away upon the impracticable, the impossible! Discard demagogues! Seek only the wise, the just, the possible, as a remedy for your grievances, and all sensible, good, practical men will be on your side.

I am far from attributing to all Socialists in theory the practical intent of Communism, or to all Communists the reckless purpose of reaching their end by the violent overthrow of the present constitution of Society. There is a difference in meaning between Socialism and Communism, and there are differences in tone and spirit among the advocates of either system. As a *theory* in the pages of poets and of speculative philosophers, Socialism looks innocent enough, and indeed has a certain fascination for dreamy or dissatisfied natures. Its leading idea is an organization of society in which each member shall labor for the benefit of the whole according to his several ability, and shall receive his proportionate share of the profits accruing to the whole; a community in which every branch of industry shall be conducted *society*-wise, that is on the principle of association in place of the principle of competition which now prevails. Socialism would have human society answer to a joint-stock company, an unincorporated association, in which all the members shall be as nearly as possible equal in service, in obligation, and in condition, and all production and partition shall be alike under the control of the whole body. This system might not require the absolute destruction of pri-

vate property, since each member of the community, on receiving his portion of the distributed wealth, would be free to do with it as he might choose, whether in spending or in saving; though he would not be at liberty to set up any private business or enterprise in competition with the associated society.

Now all this as a theory reads prettily enough, like the idyls of a "Golden Age," which tickle the fancy and even inspire a sort of moral enthusiasm at the prospect of a world of peace, purity, simplicity, plenty, contentment, virtue—a world in short constituted by leaving human nature out of account! But the Millennium can come only through men one by one becoming truly and thoroughly good; and any attempt to set it up by law or by "a new constitution of society" will be sure to end in giving to the bad the impunity deserved only by the good, by which they will turn paradise into pandemonium.

Communism, as a practical form of Socialism, goes farther than this general theory of society, in demanding that the theory shall be carried out by means of a community of goods and even of families. Pushed to its logical issue this would require the abolition of private property, of separate enterprise and industry, and of the separate rights of marriage and the family; in a word, it would

bring all the affairs of life into the common stock, on the principle of share and share alike.

But while Socialism as a theory should not be confounded with Communism as a means, it is nevertheless true that when Socialists attempt to reduce their theory to practice they glide insensibly into Communism, at least as regards the rights of private property and of individual enterprise. I have already given in substance the platform of the Social Democrats of Germany as laid down at Gotha in 1875. But one or two paragraphs deserve to be repeated here as the most formal and authentic exposition of the aim of Socialists in respect to property.

"In society as now constituted, the means of work are the monopoly of the class of capitalists. The class of workingmen thus become dependent on them, and consequently are given over to all degrees of misery and servitude." The fallacy of this statement is at once obvious. The capitalist who naturally wishes to improve his capital by employing it as "means of work" is just as absolutely dependent upon workmen as they are dependent upon him. Of all "means of work" the most valuable are the hands and skill of the workman. Improvements of machinery may dispense with crude

manual labor, but they render the more necessary a higher human skill to direct and finish the work which no machinery can perform alone. The farmer who uses machinery to sow and plant his land and to reap and gather his crops, needs fewer hands, but the few he does require must be more capable; and he is absolutely dependent on their knowledge and fidelity to make his machines of any value. There must always be a tacit co-partnership between capital and labor, and neither could exist apart as a "monopoly."

Down to a recent period the defenders of slavery used to picture its advantages to the slave: "He was sure of food, clothing, home, and of care in sickness and old age; he had his idle hours and holidays, and was always free from care and want." But was there ever a workman who sold himself into slavery to get rid of "the misery and servitude" of his condition? Is there now to be found a freedman who, notwithstanding "all degrees of misery" to which he is given over in the new struggle for existence, would put himself back into servitude to better his condition? Living on the same soil, side by side with a legalized condition of slavery, any workman would have felt himself insulted at being told that he was held in "servitude" by his em-

ployer. Can any demagogue now make an American workman believe that his lot is one of "*servitude*" to capitalists. Trials and hardships he may have, sometimes worthy to be regarded as "miseries," but to call him a slave would be the grossest insult. However low his place in society, he has that personal freedom of action which asserts his manhood. He is free to come and go, free to choose his kind and place of work, free to speak, to act, to vote, and above all, free to become himself a capitalist, a proprietor so far as nature has given him ability and providence shall open the way. For in this country there is no "class of capitalists," no "class of workmen;" the individual molecules that make up American society are constantly shifting their place and condition—never crystallize into classes, never harden into unchangeable forms and layers. The bottom workman of to-day may be the top "boss" of to-morrow. Yet Socialistic demagogues would cajole the workman into the belief that he is "given over to servitude" by capitalists; but would in reality make him a slave by persuading him to surrender his own blessed freedom of action to the "monopoly" of an association or the dictation of the state.

But to return to the Gotha declaration: "In or-

der to emancipate labor it is requisite that the means of work be transformed into the *common property* of society, that all productive powers be regulated by associations, and that the entire product of labor be turned over to society and justly distributed for the benefit of all. Led by these principles, the Social Party of German Workmen strives for a free state and society, the breaking down of the iron law of wages by abolishing the system of hired workmen, and *doing away with all social* and political inequality."

Here is Socialism pure and simple, Socialism as carefully defined by its ablest teachers and leaders, Socialism put forth, not as a vague abstract speculation upon society, but in distinct propositions with a direct practical aim. And this too is Socialism in its mildest form. Here is no violent demand of Communism, no appeal to revolution, but a proposal "by legal means"—that is by legislation dictated by the votes of workmen—to change all the laws and customs of society, so far as labor, production, and property are concerned. The Gotha declaration of Social Democrats expressly "demands the creation of social productive associations, to be supported by the state government and *under the control* of the working people." Such associa-

tions of workmen are to regulate "all productive powers," and are to receive and distribute "the entire product of labor."

Socialists are apt to complain that they are misrepresented or at least misunderstood; that they are confounded with Communists, and accused of plotting the violent overthrow of society; that their doctrines are exaggerated; or the loose and extravagant utterances of individuals are caught at to prejudice and condemn their cause. I am glad, therefore, to be able to give, from a convention of Socialists of acknowledged authority, the result of their deliberations, put forth in their own words, in the form of a guide to the political action of the Social Democratic party. It cannot be accused of hasty utterance, or of perversion and prejudice, and it is remarkably free from threats of violence and from extravagance of language. What then is the *least* that Socialism demands in order to satisfy the workmen who have embraced it?

1. Socialism demands that private property shall be abolished, and its accumulation hereafter shall be prevented by the equable distribution of the entire product of labor as the common property of society. "The means of work," it is alleged, are at present "the monopoly of the class of capi-

talists;" and it is demanded that these "means of work," which are now in the hands of individuals and corporations, "shall be *transformed* into the *common* property of society." Transformation is a nice smooth word, which on the face of it does not suggest pillage. But how shall this transformation be effected? Only two ways are possible. The first is by purchase. But would Socialists, who denounce property as robbery and capital as tyranny, ever consent so far to recognize the right of private property as to have the government buy out its present owners in order to hold their estates for the good of society at large? Surely they would never consent to be themselves taxed for the purchase of property which, in its present hands, relieves them from so much of the burden of taxation.

Now the only alternative to purchase is seizure: that in the name of the public. Government should seize upon all private property, and "transform this into the common property of society." But *stealing* is the real name for such an act; taking by force or by fraud the fruit of another's toil and care, to give to those who have done nothing to earn or to deserve it. If a workman should carry off the tools and effects of his employer, and sell them or use them as his own, we need no law to teach us that

this is theft. Every man's conscience decides that. Every honest workman would call the man a thief who should thus appropriate his tools, even for the purpose of "transforming" his personal "means of labor" into the "common property of society." And no number of voters, no amount of legislation could make such a seizure of private property other than robbery, though done in the name of society. But a society founded in theft and fraud would be most unsafe for workmen. A government which should begin with stealing for workmen would end with stealing from them.

The great body of those who are led by Socialistic theories are no doubt honest and well-meaning men. As individuals they would wrong no man. Never would they seek their rights by robbing an unjust capitalist or firing the premises of an oppressive corporation. Yet the scheme of society put forth by their leaders, in its mildest form and under the guise of "legal means," runs down to bold robbery, but thinly covered by the plea of "transforming all the means of work now belonging to capitalists into the common property of society."

2. The second thing upon which Socialism is bent, according to its mildest platform, is "doing away with all social and political inequality." In

this country "*political* inequality" is unknown. Here one man's vote counts for as much as another's; and, excepting that naturalized citizens are ineligible to the offices of President and Vice-President, any citizen may be elected to any office for which he can command a majority of the votes of his fellow-citizens.

As to "social inequality," if by this is meant distinctions of title, rank, class, no such inequality exists in the United States, nor can ever arise under our Republican Institutions.

If by "social inequality" is meant such differences in style of living as are created or maintained by different degrees of income, I answer again that no such inequality exists as a permanent and invariable distinction among citizens of the United States. To begin with, in almost every community there are circles of cultivated people, of literary people, of musical people, of religious people, to which no one is admitted on account of wealth alone. If a man is coarse, ignorant, vulgar, profane, immoral, no matter how rich he is, such people will not invite him to their homes. Nor will rich men of refinement receive him into theirs. A mechanic of good mind, good morals, good manners, may stand higher in the true social scale, and have really bet-

ter society than a millionaire whom everybody at heart despises as a boor. The scandalous revelations sometimes made of the lives of rich men, by divorce suits and contests over wills, may well make a decent workman thankful that he has never been brought down to the level of such society. His children too are likely to turn out better than such rich men's sons. Such nicknames as "Shoddy Aristocracy," "Codfish Aristocracy," and the like, which are given to vain and ignorant people who take on airs because of sudden wealth, show how far these are from a social position which anybody respects or would care to imitate.

He who makes himself worthy the society of his fellows, by his intelligence, his character, his culture, has a passport to really good society, and can draw to himself the fellowship which he values and desires. With the cheap advantages of education in America, it is largely in the power of workmen to reduce social inequalities by lifting themselves to a higher grade. And it is possible for every one by leading a Christian life to make himself a member of that society which is the noblest and best on earth—the communion of saints, the brethren of Christ, the sons of God. Here there is absolute equality of fellowship and of privilege.

As to the social distinctions which wealth creates or effects, these are continually fluctuating in the United States, through financial reverses and the laws of inheritance. So far as our laws and customs are concerned, it is open to every man to rise in the scale of wealth according to his abilities; and experience has shown how much easier it is to fall on that scale than to rise. An hereditary order of nobility might be abolished, as was done in France by the Revolution of 1793, or prohibited, as it is by the ninth clause of the first article of the Constitution of the United States. But it would be impossible to abolish rich men from a community, except by making all men equally *poor!* Nor even then: for the very men who destroyed the inequality of wealth would soon create it again by stepping into the places of the rich whom they had cast down. In this country the "social inequality" of wealth is mainly due to the natural inequality of men in their ability to earn and to save, and there is no way of destroying that inequality but by weeding out all the incompetent, or rather by exterminating the human race.

Some imagine that the inequalities of society could be done away by abolishing the laws of inheritance, and forbidding the transmission of prop-

erty from father to son. This feeling is not prompted alone by the envy of the poor. A wealthy merchant, born without inheritance, who has won his way to the front rank in commerce and in society, not long ago said to me, "One of our greatest social evils and public dangers arises from *inherited* wealth. Let a man make his own way and create a fortune for himself, and he will be sure to take care of it. But look at the sons of our rich men! Instead of working as their fathers did, they are sitting at club windows, with a pack of cards, a bottle of soda and the decanter of brandy before them, leading an idle and worthless life. The desire of young people to live without work is a growing evil of the times. The world is going astray very much, and unless we can bring it back to the times when every man had to do his own work I shall fear for the future." That many rich men's sons squander fortunes which should be used in the productive industry of the world is lamentably true. But the proportion of wasted and ruined lives in the families of the rich is no greater than among the poorer classes. An advance in wages is apt to be followed by an increase of intemperance and of foolish extravagance among workingmen, and poverty and vice always keep company. Not

every man who rises by his own exertions knows how to take care of his fortune when he has made it. How many quit the trade which has enriched them, and turn to speculations which prove their ruin. Should rich men at dying scatter their estates among the community how much would be lost to the world in art, science, and general culture, which is now secured through those sons of the rich who use wisely and well their inherited estates! If all accumulated property should be distributed to society at the death of its owner, the effect would be either to reduce society to the mere bread-and-butter state of living, or to aggravate a rivalry in getting rich by making of the present generation of rich men a caste, a social aristocracy the more arrogant and intolerant for having no ancestry and no posterity. Far better would it be to leave the inequalities of society to the certain operations of natural laws, which in a republican country change individual members of classes without overturning that social order which is founded in the nature of men and of things.

The proposal to "destroy a social inequality" which arises from differences in *men* is folly and madness in the extreme. Each man has his own talents and his own tastes—his talents to exist, his

tastes to enjoy. The wise and right use of these to him is life. Each man is born with certain powers, with a certain constitution and temperament, and in a certain condition. By the wise and right use of his natural powers, one may often improve his outward condition; but he can never wholly free himself from the early influences of the condition in which he was born. By experience and care one may modify his constitution and regulate his temperament; but there will always remain something that is natural to him, some family trait, some personal characteristic, which distinguishes him from other men. These personal qualities he can no more change than he can change the color of his eyes or the length of his nose.

It is the same with native mental endowments. Every man of sound mind may develop or cultivate himself just as far as the measure of his faculties will admit; but no man can make himself a poet or an inventor—the faculty must be born in him. In every family we observe among the children differences in capacity, in temperament, in tastes, and even in inherited tendencies and habits; and the wisdom of education lies in finding out what each child is good for, and in training each according to his bent. In their father's house the children are

on a level of absolute social equality. But who can guaranty that their natural inequality of talent, temperament and taste shall not produce among them a social inequality so soon as they shall leave the common roof and set up their separate homes? They may marry into relations uncongenial and wide asunder; some may go the way of vice and sin, others adhere to the society of the good; some may prosper in all they do, and others may become mere shiftless vagabonds; some may find their peers among the learned and the noble, others may prefer the companionship of gamblers and horse-jockeys. And what is true of the individual family cannot but be true of the many families which make up a community. Is a man to be forbidden to choose his society because he is poor? American society does not forbid him, but Socialism would. This would bring to the decent workman's house and table, as his "social equal," the most idle and worthless of his comrades. The man who wishes to use his leisure in improving his mind, wishes to keep the Sabbath holy, and to live in the fear of God, who wishes to bring up his children sober, honest, industrious, studious, and pious, must submit to be put on a level with the neighbor who wastes his wages in drink, keeps his family in igno-

rance and rags, whose breath is noisome, his speech profane, and whose habits are more fitted for the society of swine than of men. And this, in order that "social inequality" may be "done away." The very men who denounce wealth as causing inequality, set up a society in which money should be the only standard of equality, enforced upon all by "the equal distribution of wealth." And in this sordid community—none the less sordid because the common level must be low—they would forbid nature herself to develop that social inequality which must arise from the diversity of her gifts to individual men. This is the Social Democracy which Germany avows! In the mildest form, the plunder of property, the destruction of home, the degradation of man. Let American workmen devoutly thank God that in this country the madness of the delusion renders it for ever impossible.

And what is it that Socialism proposes to build up on the ruins of the present fabric of society? Having done away with private property, with corporate capital, with social inequality, and with every form of personal possession and individual right, what sort of a home would these reformers create for man? what sort of a state for the communities in which men must live? Before we consent to the

surrender of all that we now have and enjoy, or submit to its destruction, we have a right to know what is to come in its stead. Is it anarchy? or tyranny? or a chimera? or, is it something which both promises a better order of things and has positive elements of success? The Gotha platform gives us distinctly the scheme which Socialists aim to realize in Society and in the State. This may be described by the one word *collective*—collective work, collective wealth, collective government, collective life. Nobody is to belong to anybody in particular, but everybody is to belong to everybody alike; nothing is to belong to anybody in particular, but any and every thing is to belong to everybody in common; nobody is to belong to himself, nor to have anything as his own. There shall no longer be a *himself* nor an *itself*, but persons and things, and their properties, shall be merged in that impersonal All, to be known as Society. All human labor shall be performed by "social productive associations;" every form of production shall be organized under such associations, and "all productive powers shall be regulated by them;" all means of work shall be the joint property of these associations, and all the products of labor shall be turned over to that imaginary thing called society, to be distributed in

equal measure to all. These associations are "to be supported by the state government and under the control of the working people." Such is the scheme of Socialism as it is calmly set before us by men whose honesty and good intentions are not to be questioned, men who avow themselves the friends of workmen and claim to be their representatives.

This scheme may look plausible enough on paper but it is impracticable in real life, and if once it could be tried would prove self-destructive, and most ruinous and degrading to mankind.

NOTE.—For a complete official statement of the aims of Socialism in Germany, the reader is referred to the Protocols of the Socialistic Congresses in Gotha for the years 1875, 1876, and 1877. Also to a very clear and able pamphlet, "Die Quintessenz des Socialismus: von einem Volkswirth;" published by F. A. Perthes, Gotha, 1875.

According to this, the first and constant aim of Socialism is the abolition of every form of private capital and private interest, and the organization of all work, land, and means of labor under one collective management and distribution in the authority of the State. Socialism does not yet openly assail the family, but tends to undermine and overthrow it.

CHAPTER XII.

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM CONTINUED—THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY.

WHAT Socialism is, what it claims, what it purposes, were made plain in the last chapter. I now pass from theory to fact. What has Socialism been? What has Socialism done in the long ages since a communistic paradise has been the dream of poets, the fiction of philosophers? However alluring on the romantic side, I have pronounced Socialism impracticable on any wide and lasting scale. I shall be met with the assertion that it has been tried, that it even now exists, that it is, in fact, the primitive and normal condition of mankind. Where then has it been tried? Where does it exist? What examples of it are there in history and experience? and what is the testimony of these by their fruits? That mankind at the first existed under a form of Socialism, is a favorite notion of a school of political philosophers, and has an air of naturalness. But where has such a community been found among aboriginal tribes, or where is there a trace of it on the page of history? I mean: Do we find any trace of

common property and labor among men, simply as human beings, not bound together by the tie of family?

One would imagine that the islands of the Pacific Ocean, where the earth yields spontaneously so much of what is required for the support of life, where the climate calls for so little labor for clothing and shelter, and where the inhabitants lived so remote from intercourse with the rest of the world, would have yielded examples of this communistic paradise. But when those islands were first brought to the knowledge of civilized man, they were found to be under the sway of chiefs who monopolized the soil, and extorted from the common people a tribute of everything which they raised, found, or in any way produced by the labor of their hands; and over these chiefs perchance a king or head-man, who extorted from the chiefs in turn his share of everything—even to the rind and the fibres of the cocoanut—as a tribute to his authority. Instead of a natural communism, in which all these children of nature lived together upon equal terms, in a paradise of labor or of indolence, there was found upon those islands every grade of society, from the king to the serf; every foot of soil, every growth of nature, every product of labor, had its owner or claimant; and often chief

was arrayed against chief, island against island, in deadly feud. The dream of Socialism vanished when Cook discovered the Hawaiian Islands.

No African traveller, crossing the continent from north to south, or from east to west, or residing for years in the interior, has ever come upon a socialistic community as the type of aboriginal society. Everywhere are found the tribe, the chief, the king, with subjection and slavery among the common people. Neither Australia nor Lapland, nor any tribe of aborigines in North or South America, living or extinct, has shown us the primitive man as a socialist, sharing all things in common with all his fellows.

The most important examples of what is called "natural communism" are to be found in the village communites of Russia and India. These communities have been carefully studied by scholars and historians, but no certain trace has been found of their origin, as, for instance, whether they grew up from the natural expansion of families, or were formed by a subdivision of tribes. "We have no actual knowledge of any aboriginal tribe;" but as far back as we can trace any people in history, we always find something back of them, an ancestry, a migration, a tradition, still more remote and ob-

scure. Hence we can only reason from probabilities, from analogy, from customs, as to the primitive state of society. The only fact which we can know with entire certainty is that man must begin life in the family under some form, however crude and transient. Men did not severally spring out of the ground and come together as individuals and frame a "social contract" as to how they should hold the soil and share the fruits of the earth, and live as a community. Each individual was born of parents under whose particular care and attention for a time, at least, he must live; and whatever form of society at first arose, must in some way have recognized and included the several contiguous households.

"Among the Aryans of India, joint-property appears under two forms: 1. In the joint family; 2. In the village communities. Only the former of these may be distinctly traced in the ancient legal literature of India.

1. *The joint family*, as its name implies, is made up exclusively of kinsmen—relationship by adoption being included in the term. All the members of a joint family are *coparceners;* but the administration of the joint estate (and the disposal of ancestral property) generally vests in the senior

of the family. If the father is alive, he is the sole manager of the estate; if not, the eldest son is supposed to be his representative: but one of the younger sons or cousins is equally capable of succeeding him in his dignity, if he is held to be especially qualified. For, as Nârada says in his Institutes, 'the prosperity of a family depends upon ability.' All the members of a joint family are heirs to one another; but this does not extend to the wider unions, consisting of remoter relations, females entitled to maintenance, etc., which in many cases swell the number of persons living in one household. The joint family, in the proper sense of the term, rarely extends beyond the second degree among collateral relations; as may be seen from a passage of the Mitâhshore, to the effect that a reunion may only take place with a father, a brother, and a paternal uncle; viz., by their again mixing up their effects after a division between them has taken place. Thus far the Sanscrit lawbooks.

"Joint families were and are extremely common in India. Indeed, they are the rule, and in India, as nearly through all the East, *coparcenary* (*i. e.*, joint-heirship) may be presumed to exist in every individual case, until the contrary can be proved.

Mr. John D. Mayne, in his recent treatise on Hindoo Law and Usage, says: 'Individual property is the rule in the West. Corporate property is the rule in the East. Absolute, unrestricted ownership, such as enables the owner to do as he likes with his property, is the exception. . . . If an individual holds property in severalty, it will in the next generation relapse into a state of joint-tenancy.' But on the other hand, such restrictions are only exercised by relatives. 'The father is restricted by his sons. the brother by his brothers, the women by their successors.'

2. "*Village Communities* exist in several parts of India. They may best be studied in the Punjab, where they present (according to Mayne) three phases. Either the land is so held that all the village co-sharers have each their proportionate share in it as a common property, and that the rents paid by the cultivators are thrown into a common stock, with all other profits from the village lands, the balance being divided among the proprietors according to their shares; or the holdings are all in severalty, each sharer managing his own portion of land, but the extent of the share being modified from time to time upon the principle of ancestral right; or communal property has entirely disap-

peared, the rights of each villager have become absolute, and no change in the number of co-sharers can entitle any member of the community to have his share enlarged.

"Upon the whole, the last form of communities is by far the most common in India; and the village communities with shifting severalties are only a remnant of a former age. It is curious, that already at the time when the Brahminical law-codes were composed, these must have formed an exception, private property forming the rule. Thus Menu and the other lawgivers lay down elaborate rules as to the acquisition of waste and unclaimed land by its cultivator, and upon adverse possession. If the land had been cultivated by all the villagers in common, or if there had been periodical redistributions, it is evident that the co-sharers would have claimed the estate of any absent villager and distributed it among themselves.

"Common pasturages are once referred to in the code of Menu (IX., 219), but it is very doubtful whether the term in question refers to a common held by all the villagers, as has been supposed; more probably it means the pasture-land belonging to a joint-family. Of fields held in common I have as yet met with no distinct vestiges in any of the

law-books. It is true that in the oldest period of Indian history individual property cannot yet have existed, or must have been in its cradle; for traces of the Village Community system are found among all the Aryan nations of Europe, especially among the Slavonic, and it must therefore date from the Indo-European period. This has been clearly proved by Sir Henry Sumner Maine in his 'Village Communities' and in his 'Early History of Institutions.' But the progress of civilization has proved hostile to the barbarous system of joint-property in India as elsewhere, and it was never received into the social organization of Brahminism.

"As for the question whether the Village Communities of India and other countries were originally composed of other members also than persons of the same kindred, it must, I think, be answered in the affirmative. Although the joint-family might occasionally have expanded into the Village Community, it is certainly more plausible that several families of different kindred united in order to cultivate in common some tract of waste land, and thus formed a Village Community. Instances of this may even nowadays be met with in India. But in after-times the common settlers in many cases

came to regard themselves as descendants from the same primitive stock and to fabricate fictitious genealogies in support of this assumption; which goes far to prove that Communism, where it occurs among primitive nations, is preëminently of the family type.

"Hence, since the joint-property system of antiquity and of barbarous nations is a natural outgrowth of their primitive conditions and limited to the narrow scope of a village, it is essentially different from modern Communism, which is an eccentric invention of theorists, and would force upon the great states of our present times the social habits and institutions of semi-barbarous villagers."

For the preceding analysis of the Joint-Family and the Village Community among the Hindoos I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Jolly of the University of Wurzburg, Germany, one of the most learned expounders of Hindoo Law. Mr. J. D. Mayne, to whom Prof. Jolly always refers with commendation, presents substantially the same view. This may be briefly stated as follows:* In ancient Hindoo usage the law of family ownership in property was paramount and all-absorbing; own-

* See an excellent summary of Mayne's "Hindoo Law and Usage" in the "Saturday Review," Nov. 16, 1878.

ership in severalty was the exception. The family property and the administration of it passed by descent in the male line through successive generations. Hence a *son* was highly prized, and where there was no son the want was supplied by adoption. Monogamy can be traced back to a very remote period. It was through the sacred wedded union of a single pair that the family line was kept distinct and the family inheritance intact for generations. This was encouraged upon religious grounds, in order that there might always be a head to the family, who should make the religious offerings and perform the sacrifices. The unpaid debts of the deceased head of a family were held to be a religious obligation upon the family. It is probable that the first appearance of property was in the form of tribal ownership; to this succeeded ownership defined as between families; and then, with the increase of population, came ownership by individuals.

In the Punjab can be traced three forms of the Village Community: 1. That in which the common interest is divided into shares, but there are no several holdings. 2. Where the holdings are several, but are subject to redistribution among the community upon the death of any individual holder.

3. Communities in which the interest of individuals is both several and fixed; that is, not liable to be distributed after the death of the holder. Hindoo law shows that the right of individuals to hold property has long been recognized, and especially in Bengal, under the influence of Brahminism.

So long as these eminent authorities adhere to facts and cases in Hindoo law which are obviously historical and matter of record, it will be seen that they point to the *Family* as the centre and the source of property both in possession and in administration.

When Mr. Mayne suggests that the first form of property was land held in common by a tribe, and that family property and individual property grew out of this by the divisions and subdivisions of later times, he is giving simply a theory of his own, and not a conclusion derived from Hindoo law and usage. This theory is plausible, and from such a source is entitled to respect. But we cannot accept the mere conjecture of an historical writer as being itself a fact of history. Concerning the very first forms of human society we know absolutely nothing. However far back the history of a primitive race or people may run, we always find hints or traces of some sort of society still more remote,

whose form and institutions are too indistinct to be identified. As I have just said, the only fact common to mankind in all stages and under all conditions of existence is that, by the laws of nature, every human being must enter the world through and in some form of the family state. All men are alike in this, that they are *born*, and for a certain time must be supported and controlled by the parents who have given them life. Hence it seems most natural that the ideas of home, of property, of rights, should grow out of the family as a fixed quantity in the problem of society; and that out of the family, with the growth of years and of branches, should arise the patriarchal and the tribal constitution, both of which retain the family as root and stock. With the expansion of the community the ties of family would naturally be weakened; but, after all, it is kinship, and not land, which forms the central ligament in the whole body. Thus, "the Russian peasants of the same village really believe, we are told, in their common ancestry; and accordingly we find that in Russia the arable lands of the village are periodically redistributed, and that the village artificer, even should he carry his tools to a distance, works for the profit of his co-villagers." But this so-called "natural

communism" has no analogy to the Socialistic Communism of our times. Each family, or each unit, is separate and distinct from every other, and should one village community trespass upon the land and property of another, it would soon be taught that property is *property*, and that a common distribution among men as *men*, without regard to family or tribe, or to hereditary claims from ancestors, is unknown alike to Russian and to Hindoo.

Hence Communism cannot claim to be a natural type of human society, nor point to any authentic example of the successful operation of the principle of community of goods upon a scale larger than the family or the village; and both these are organized, not for mankind in general, but for a limited circle whose rights of possession and property are carefully defined against all other people.

The Agrarian Laws of ancient Rome cannot be fairly quoted as an example of Socialistic Communism. The object of these laws was to increase the agricultural population by breaking down the great landlords who monopolized the soil, and creating a large class of peasant proprietors—just as was done in France, at the close of the eighteenth century. But the domains thus divided were originally

the property of the state, and the proprietors who by long occupation had acquired individual or family rights in the soil, received a compensation for their ejectment. These domains were then cut up into a great number of small leaseholds which were allotted to citizens, who "bound themselves to use the land for agriculture and to pay a moderate rent to the state." These leaseholds were made hereditary and inalienable against all claimants except the state; and there was no approach to the communistic notion of returning the produce of the land year by year to the state to be equally distributed for the benefit of all. In short the Roman agrarian laws were not directed against the right of private property, but were intended to regulate the occupation of the public domains, to prevent these from passing by usage into the hands of a few great landlords, and to secure the improvement of the soil by actual farmers who should have a personal interest in its products. These laws broke down a landed aristocracy, not by abolishing private property, but by creating a landed democracy—a class of small leaseholders, who, though tenants of the state, did not work for the state, for a public treasury or public granary, nor as members of a joint stock company or a coöperative society; but

each man worked as his own that portion of land which he held for himself and his heirs, until such time as the state should see fit to pay him for his improvements and resume its original right in the soil. This system had some practical advantages, but in the end it worked mischief both to the state and to the agricultural proprietors. But never did it become a system of communistic socialism.

Neither is there a trace of communism in the tenure of land among the ancient Hebrews. The laws of Moses provided in the most marked manner for the inheritance of families. The original allotment of the land of Canaan to the Hebrews was made according to tribes and families (Numb. ch. 33, 34); and the law of Jubilee provided that every fiftieth year lands which had been sold or mortgaged should be restored to the family heirs of the original possessors. They were never sold for the public good nor distributed as common property, but went back to the family. Thus the rights of individual property and of family inheritance were most sacredly guarded.

As to the so-called Christian Communism of the Apostolic times, the New Testament gives but one solitary example of this, and that under peculiar circumstances and for a limited period. Jews

had come from all parts of the world to keep the Passover at Jerusalem. There many of them were suddenly converted to the Christian faith, and on this account could no longer enjoy the hospitality of their friends or share the tents of the caravans with which they had arrived. They wished however to remain longer under the teaching and training of the apostles; and in this emergency the Christians of Jerusalem and such of the new converts as had means, moved by a generous impulse, made a common fund for the support of all. "The multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common.... Neither was there any among them that lacked; for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need." Acts 4:32–35. This impulse was prompted in part by the belief that Christ was about soon to appear to judge the world, when of course earthly possessions would have no more value. But this communistic arrangement was not required by the apostles as a rule of Christian life.

Ananias and Sapphira were punished, not for withholding a part of their property, but for hypocrisy in attempting to make the impression that they had given up all while they were keeping back a part. "While it remained was it not thine own? and after it was sold was it not in thine own power?"

Now this incident at Jerusalem is never afterwards referred to in the New Testament as a precedent. This was not the formal organization of the church at Jerusalem, but only an incident of the enthusiasm that pervaded the disciples there after the miracle of Pentecost, and no other church seems to have taken up the experiment of a common purse and a common table. On the contrary the disciples at Jerusalem through local burdens and persecutions were soon reduced to poverty, and other churches were called upon to relieve them by free-will contributions. Now Christian charity is a very different thing from communistic obligation. The two in fact are incompatible. In the letters of the apostles there is no trace of Communism. The rich are exhorted to be charitable; the poor to be industrious and contented. "If any will not work, neither should he eat." Convents and nunneries were not set up by the apostles. Such institutions were in the world before the time of

Christ. Neither do these furnish examples of communistic socialism. They have originated in a religious or a scholarly motive, or as places of refuge from the world, and not primarily as communities for reforming and reconstructing society in the world at large. These too have their orders and castes, and they live largely upon bounties from without. At times they have been useful to mankind, in the preservation or the promotion of knowledge, faith, and charity, but often they have degenerated into nests of lazy beggars.

Most of the communistic societies which have arisen in later times have in their organization and administration some other motive and support than the mere community of goods: in Shakerism a religious scheme, in others a sensual element under the name of Free Love. These communities are small, and cannot be taken to represent a constitution of society at large. If in some cases they are thrifty, it must be remembered that they are surrounded by an established civilization, and that when they deal with those around them they do this, not to spread the principle of a community of goods, but for the purpose of getting gain; and in this they follow the laws of trade, and the motives of competition and of acquisition which move man-

kind at large. Should such communities be multiplied in the market of the world, they would soon press upon one another in a spirit of competition which would destroy the principle upon which they are founded.

In short, beautiful as is the theory of an equal distribution of land and of property, as speculative philosophers have taught it from the earliest times, it has never been found practicable on a large scale or for a length of time, in every-day human life.

NOTE.—For a good and trustworthy account of Socialistic and Communistic Societies of all sorts, the reader is referred to a series of articles by President Theodore D. Woolsey, D. D., LL. D., published in the "*Independent*," from Dec. 19, 1878, to May, 1879. It is hoped that these articles will be reprinted in a volume.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOCIALISM: ITS ECONOMICAL AND ETHICAL ASPECTS.

HISTORY testifies against Socialism as a permanent practical form of human society. No little error has arisen on this point from confounding the *commune* as a political unit of the State with a Land-and-Labor Society acting as the State, and holding and managing all things for all members of the community alike, graded according to their wants and their work. In France, Belgium, Holland, for instance, the *Commune* is the first and the smallest organization in which society appears as exercising its political functions, and it answers very nearly to the town-organization of New England as the kernel of the state. M. Emile de Lavelaye, in his essay on "The Provincial and Communal Institutions of Belgium and Holland," defines the Commune as "the association which is spontaneously established among the inhabitants of a locality on account of the common interests created by living near one another. They must maintain order, execute justice, defend themselves, and, at times, carry on certain works which are indispen-

able to the existence and well-being of all; hence results the necessity of a communal power, of an authority which can oblige all to respect the law, and to make such sacrifices as the common interest demands." It was of such a commune that M. de Tocqueville said, "The strength of a free people resides in the Commune."

This is quite true of the Commune as a *political* society. Like the town in New England, it is a little democracy of equals, having equal rights; and a great republic may be built up securely upon the union of a number of such local democracies. But the essence of a free government is that while it secures to the individual citizens equal rights and powers in political affairs, and equal protection under the laws, it does not meddle with matters which belong to the individual alone—belong to him, not as a citizen, but as a man. Hence a Commune, in the political sense, by no means implies a commune in the sense of property and of society. The things which the political Commune provides for are things which individuals could not provide, but which all persons who reside within the Commune alike need: such as public order and security, public improvements, general education, morality, and the like. But religion, the family, property, occupation, en-

joyment, these lie within the province of the individual as a person; these are not political affairs, neither, except in some remote way, are they public interests; and hence for the political Commune to assume the control of these would be to violate that political liberty by and for which the Commune itself was instituted.

This distinction is of prime importance, as separating the Commune in politics from Communism in society. So far as the Paris Commune of 1871 had in view the doing away with centralization in government and the strengthening of communal or local authority, the end was good, though the means were evil. The empire, by centralizing government in Paris, had well-nigh ruined France; and the revival of power in the Communes would not only have strengthened local liberties, but would have prepared the way for a stable republic, built upon these orderly self-governed districts. This certainly would have been a gain to France. But in stepping beyond the form of political administration into the sphere of economical and social organization, the Commune became a danger and a curse to France. It sought to use a political force—the will of the majority—which is the guardian of the local liberties and rights of the Commune, to

coerce individuals in their labor and their life, in property and in family, and thus struck a blow at that personal liberty without which Popular Liberty is but another name for the worst of tyrannies, the tyranny of an irresponsible majority.

Equally hostile is Socialism to the spirit of enterprise, which is the mainspring of progress and of prosperity in society. It takes away the highest motives to industry and thrift—the desire to possess, the ambition to succeed and to excel. Socialism destroys personality. It merges the individual in the machine called society. True, men would still work under a law exacting their labor, but only as the slave works under the lash. And all experience testifies how shiftless, sluggish, and unprofitable is slave-labor compared with the voluntary and self-rewarding labor of freemen. Slaves never invent, never improve, never advance. To progress there must be freedom of personal action, and the prospect of personal reward, and also of a reward corresponding to the skill and labor bestowed upon the production. Now in a communistic society the skilful and industrious laborer cannot look for his just share of the products of the joint labor. He must accept that which is allotted to him out of the common stock, knowing that he may be robbed of

his just recompense through the unfaithfulness of others to their part of the common task. Having more than earned his own support, he must be content with a bare support for himself, and must give the surplus of his labor for the support of the lazy, the weak, and the incompetent. How spiritless and monotonous must be work performed under such conditions. Who will strive to earn more than he can eat, drink, and wear, when, do what he may, he can receive no more than his bare subsistence? All those grand forces of action which lie in human will and human desire are repressed by making men mere working tools of society, instead of persons who think, choose, and act for themselves. The economical effect of such a system must be to keep production at a minimum, both in quantity and in quality.

And the mental and moral effects of such a system are even worse. For what is mind without motive or stimulus to effort? And where would morality be if all reward to merit were withheld; if every motive to excellence were withdrawn; if the competition of the social and industrial virtues with their opposites were annulled; if freedom of choice, of action, of companionship were denied; if every man were trained to feel that he was only a

fixed wheel or pin in a great machine for producing material things to satisfy material wants?

Even *Proudhon*, though he denounced private property as "robbery," saw in Communism a worse enemy to mankind. He pointed out the gross injustice of Communism in that it "places mediocrity on a level with excellence"—in that it "debilitates society, does violence to the natural attractions and repulsions of men, fastens a yoke of iron on the will, and enforces a stupid uniformity upon the free, active, reasoning, unsubmissive personality of man." Nothing could so utterly destroy the hopes and crush the aspirations of the workingman as such a soulless mechanism. Nothing so utterly annihilates all that is noble, generous, virtuous in humanity as the attempt to supplant spontaneous and voluntary goodness by state rules of life.

In reply to this it might be said that Christianity seeks to bring men to an equality of position and a uniformity of life through each man's living for the good of all. Yes; but this by his own voluntary act, by a law of love which he chooses to adopt and to obey: whereas Communism would render Christianity itself impossible by substituting state law for Divine love, and for the voluntary virtues of sympathy, self-sacrifice, and benev-

olence, enforcing majority rules of production and trade.

These general principles are strikingly confirmed by the history of "The Communistic Societies of the United States," as given by Dr. Charles Nordhoff from personal visit and observation. Dr. Nordhoff is a careful and candid observer, and his report is not called in question by the Communities which he visited. In reading through his volume, one cannot fail to be struck with the following facts concerning these attempts at Communism in America.

1. Every such community exists upon a small scale. Some three or four thousand persons at the highest, commonly only a few hundreds, compose the entire membership of such a society, and there is seldom an attempt of a community to propagate itself by sending out branches or colonies.

2. Each community has its own tests of membership. It is not a *human* society for men as men, for workmen as workmen, for the poor as poor. It is a *set*, held together by rules and tests of its own. Every community tries to shut out from its pale the lazy, the weakly, the incompetent, the drunken, the worthless—just the classes which society is troubled to dispose of, and for which an improved

social state ought better to provide. How is the world to be made better if industrious people shall withdraw into encampments and live only for themselves, leaving the poor, the feeble, the unfortunate, the vicious, to struggle with their fate alone? These little, selfish, communistic societies bring neither relief nor hope to the great problem of humanity.

3. These communities, while they shut out the world at large from their benefits, use the outside world as a market for their labor and its products, and thus collectively fall under the very laws of trade and competition which in the case of the individual workman they were set up to destroy.

4. So far as a livelihood is concerned, the members of such communities enjoy an average of material comfort somewhat above what they might severally have reached by independent labor. As Dr. Franklin says, "It is hard for an empty sack to stand upright;" and no doubt the joint work of the community has kept many a sack from being empty. But the material prosperity of these communities has been largely due to good fortune in securing land and location, and in having a leader or leaders of good executive ability. Their success lies more in qualities which are individual and per-

sonal to the few, than in those which are common to the many.

5. All these communities are marked by a low intellectual level in their average membership. This must be so. Men of mind, men of force, will not go into such societies except to be leaders; nor will most men be satisfied with simply a good, wholesome diet as the chief end of life. Hence the communities are sparingly recruited from the outer world, and move on in a dull routine of animal existence. They contribute nothing to the progress of the world, nothing to its life; they have produced no inventions, no sciences, no books, no ideas, that have made men wiser or better.

6. Mere Communism does not suffice to hold them permanently together. Religious fanaticism, a novel theory, or the personal magnetism of a leader, is the immediate bond of association, and when this is weakened or broken the community is apt to fall asunder.

8. Hence, as a form of industrial life in the United States, Communism is dying out, even in its most favored localities. It may continue till the end of time as a refuge for morbid, dissatisfied, or dreamy natures, but can never prove a power of social reform. Already about fifty organ-

ized communistic societies hopefully started in the United States have come to a disastrous end. The men who would make the best members of such a community can mostly do and get far more in life than the community can offer.

The flourishing condition of the Mormon community in Utah furnishes no argument against these conclusions. A community of goods is not a feature of Mormonism. Every Mormon is encouraged to become a possessor of land and other property, subject to the payment of a tithe for the support of the civil and religious institutions of the system. With certain forms of democracy, the Mormon community is a Theocracy, governed by leaders who claim to be inspired; it takes strong hold upon the religious feeling of its votaries, and at the same time appeals powerfully to the love of gain and to sensual passion.

CHAPTER XIV.

ALL FOR EACH, AND EACH FOR ALL.

We have seen that the wants of the workman cannot be met in any substantial way by means of legislation upon labor, money, or trade, nor by combinations of labor against capital, whether for coercion or for destruction. We have seen also that the fundamental principles of Socialism—the abolition of private ownership, the merging of all labor and property in the state, and the enforced production and distribution of wealth by the will and power of the state, would reduce society to a state of stagnation in which not only would the hope and endeavor of the workman be stifled, but his very manhood be smothered and squelched. But now that we have swept away all illusory methods for the relief of labor and all fanatical schemes for the enthronement of labor, it remains that the wants of the workman are real and imperative, and that the condition of things at which Socialism wildly aims is in spirit what humanity longs for and what Christianity seeks to produce—a state of society in which each shall care for all and all for

each. What Socialism would set up as an absolute form of society enforced upon all by the material power of the state, Christianity seeks to develop by the growth of a moral principle within the heart of each man reaching out to embrace all others, in the spirit of justice, of equality, and of love. The difference between the two methods is like the difference between enforcing uniformity in religion by the civil power, and cultivating unity among Christians by intercourse and coöperation through voluntary arrangements for common ends. How far the state may justly and safely go in organizing and protecting labor has been shown in Chapter VIII.

Government may fix the hours of a working day as the basis of contracts, and for settling disputes between workmen and their employers. But government cannot forbid private contracts for extra work or for another term of hours *per diem.*

Government may enact sanitary laws for the protection of workmen as members of society.

Government can fix the standard of money, but cannot create money nor fix the rate of wages.

Government can protect society against monopolies, by refusing to these privileges and immunities under the sanction of law.

Government can assist labor by such public works as are remunerative or are necessary to the welfare of the whole community.

Government can relieve labor by keeping down taxation to the minimum required for the safety, the order, and the dignity of the state.

Government can prevent the labor of its own citizens from being swamped by such an influx of foreigners as would practically make its laborers and productions support the surplus labor of the world.

Beyond these seven specifications of positive action, the one thing which government can do, and is bound to do in behalf of labor, is to secure the largest freedom consistent with the public safety, to the VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE alike for the individual and for association. Let every man do for himself whatever he can without harm to others and without hindrance from others. And let all persons be free to combine for their own interests in all ways not hurtful nor threatening to the public good.

That facility of association which in many countries is secured by the political freedom of the times, gives the brightest hope for the future of the workmen. Though it rests entirely upon a practical basis of business, though it springs from and

appeals to motives of self-interest, coöperation which has been styled "the new principle of industry," is an attempt to carry out in political economy the rule of Christian justice and equality—All for Each and Each for All.

Like Communism, which it is meant to supersede, coöperation has been used in meanings so various and so vague, that it is hard to define with precision as the name of a system. Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, one of the foremost advocates of this system, has written a useful book upon "The History of Coöperation in England;" but in his 400 pages he does not give one clear complete definition of the thing of which he writes. He has been more successful in a recent article in the "Nineteenth Century," where he traces the gradual development of the principle of coöperation from vague beginnings and futile attempts up to what he regards as its accepted position in social economy.* Here he gives us such statements as the following: "The main principle of coöperation now is that in all new enterprises, whether of trade or manufacture, the profit shall be distributed in equitable proportions among all engaged in creating it." This principle

* "The New Principle of Industry;" in the Nineteenth Century for September, 1878.

is just so far as it goes. But what is to be done in case of a loss? Shall this fall exclusively upon those who furnish capital to the coöperative society? Is the doctrine that in such a society the workman shall receive steady wages, share all profits and escape all losses? What then is this but a scheme for making capitalists guarantee the support of workmen out of their own pockets? An honest coöperation should mean that the result of the joint enterprise, whether of profit or of loss, shall be divided in equitable porportions among all engaged in it.

Mr. Holyoake says further: "Coöperation is a scheme by which profits can be obtained by concert and divided by consent, including with the producers the indigent consumer..... The claim of Coöperation is that it is a new force calculated to improve industrial society by introducing in distribution and production, wherever it operates, the principle of common interests instead of competition of interests." This principle is not only sound in morals but is also promising in an economical view, to all classes of society. The "Trades-Union" seeks to combine labor against capital; to extort from capital an arbitrary rate of wages, without regard to profit or loss on the thing produced

or to the competition of labor in its own market. Co-operation combines labor with capital for interests in common. Labor thus becomes a form of capital, and shares with it both the production and the distribution of wealth. Socialism seeks to enforce community of work and of goods by the power of the state, compelling all to join in production, yet making distribution not according to the work or the worth of each, but according to his wants. Cooperation signifies the voluntary union of individuals according to their several abilities to produce a result which they share according to their contributions and their earnings. Not what they need, but what they do and earn in production, is the measure of their share in distribution. This principle applies both to the production and to the distribution of wealth; by its working labor passes into capital and capital into labor, and the workman is also by turns a capitalist.

As applied to Distribution, the scheme has worked favorably, upon the whole, in the form of "Coöperative Stores." In buying the necessaries of life, the workman is commonly at the mercy of the small retailer. He has no place for storing supplies, such as flour, wood, coal, potatoes, and has little surplus with which to lay in a stock of

provisions. Hence he must buy in small quantities and of petty dealers—say at third or fourth hand—who make their rent and living out of large profits on small sales. Often, too, the workman buys on credit, and the seller must charge him at a rate to cover this risk. Now the coöperative store supplies good articles, in honest measure, for cash, at only a small advance upon cost prices; and, moreover, gives him the opportunity of becoming a partner in the profits in the ratio of his yearly custom. Thus, for a given neighborhood or circle, one cooperative store would be substituted for twenty retail shops; rent, wages, all expenses would be reduced to a *minimum;* having capital, and a large steady run of cash custom, the store could buy and sell cheaper than the small shopkeeper; and since no one could look to personal profits on the business, every temptation to fraud in the quality, quantity, or price of the goods would be removed. Still the coöperative store is liable to the risks which attend every enterprise in which human nature is concerned. To provide against fraud, and as far as possible against mistake in the management, good salaries must be paid for trustworthy and competent managers; and in the long run it will be found that these salaries will about equal the profits which

the retailer assesses upon his customers for his time, labor, and skill in managing his shop. Then there is always the risk of bad bargains, of buying on a falling market, and the losses thus incurred by the subscribers to the store must virtually enhance the average price of their purchases. Some such stores have signally failed through losses, mismanagement, and outward circumstances, and have brought disaster to all connected with them. In short, here as everywhere, it is not sound principle and good intention alone, but *business talent* that succeeds. Where the managers of a coöperative store are chosen by the whole body of participants, there is always the danger that personal or party feelings may prevail over practical business judgment. Hence in a manufacturing community it may be more to the advantage of the workman that the proprietor, like Robert Owen at New Lanark, should open a store stocked with all necessary commodities to be sold to the factory hands at bare cost. Thus the workman would have the substantial benefits of a coöperative store with none of its financial risks. He would, however, lose the training in prudence, economy, and skill which comes by responsibility as a capitalist.

But coöperation, however beneficial, can of ne-

cessity be practised only on a limited scale. For convenience as well as for safety, each coöperative society must be limited as to the number and character of its members. To open its list indiscriminately would be to court its own ruin. There must be a principle of selection. This is true even of distributive coöperation, but it is an absolute necessity for coöperation in production.

Here the utmost care must be taken that the associates are honest, industrious, capable, and well-disposed. If these points are not secured at the outset, the lower elements will drag down the higher, and a system designed to stimulate each man to his highest endeavor by the assurance of a just reward, will become a mere common workshop with an almshouse annexed. Instead of being kept down by capital, workmen would then be dragged down by their fellows who are not willing or not able to work. To success in coöperative production there must also be a readiness of self-sacrifice. The workman who looks for profits must be ready to take risks and to accept losses. And here, unfortunately, the coöperative workman is too apt to burn his candle at both ends. He wishes to get the highest wages for present work, and yet to pay the lowest price for the products of his labor.

This false economy has proved the ruin of many a well-meant coöperative enterprise. Coöperation is not a chain to coerce the laws of trade. Everywhere and always both Capital and Labor must obey these or perish.

I cannot too strongly advise the workman, before entering into coöperation, to study well the system and its management.

First of all, let him make sure that the coöperative society which he is about to join is based on the principle of "limited liability," so that, if a crash should come, he shall not be liable for more than the amount of his shares. Next, let him acquaint himself with the character of the managers—their business capacity as well as their integrity. In such societies, as well as in banks, in insurance, and other trust companies, the main question always is, Who shall keep the keepers? Somebody must be trusted, and in these times we cannot be too careful whom we trust. And, thirdly, let the workman keep his eyes open to the actual business of the society. He should have a weekly, or at most a monthly statement of its doings. In taking shares in a Coöperative Society, he becomes at least a silent partner in a kind of business different from his own daily labor, and he cannot expect to

have profits and earnings without taking risks and looking sharply after his interests. He should not attempt to manage what he does not understand, but neither should he look for gains without care and anxiety on his part.

The "Civil Service Supply Association," in London, is an example of great success in coöperation.

In 1878 its sales were	£1,387,934	6*s.*	5½*d.*
Working expenses	54,364	12	8
Gross profits	77,941	10	3
Net "	34,388	17	7

7,537 tickets were held by persons in civil service of the government, and 21,286 by their friends. The Association paid no income-tax, which has been made a just cause of complaint.

Coöperation must of necessity be limited in its area and its sphere. A coöperative store may get supplies of tea, coffee, sugar, at wholesale rates from the importers. But if it would do away with the profit of the importers it must enter into the shipping business on a gigantic scale, and must draw to itself the capital and commerce of the world. But who would intrust the administration of this to a Board of Directors chosen by the chance constituency of a Coöperative Society? To place

such a business under State control would require an International League, which would soon resolve itself into a Social Despotism, in which mankind would surrender all personal liberty and all moral action for the sake of an organized supply and distribution of daily food.

Such a scheme being impossible, Coöperation would presently fall under the very law which it is meant to defeat—the law of competition. It begins in competition with private enterprise. Co-operative stores would do away with retail shops, and already in London the rivalry and contention between them is sharp. Coöperative stores have driven the retailers into combinations against them, and the public will buy where they are best served. The retailer and his family have as good a right as the workman to live by honest work. If the great retail business is broken up, thousands will be driven to organized competition with its rival, and Co-operation will compete with Coöperation for the public favor; so universal, so inevitable are the Laws of Trade. Let all coöperate who can. Let all encourage coöperation. But let none fancy that Coöperation will usher in a millennium of cheap cotton and corn.

CHAPTER XV.

EVERY MAN FOR HIMSELF.

EVERY man for himself? Is this a thing to be recommended? Is not this the selfishness which the Bible condemns, and which is the bane of human society? Not at all. That thought on one's self, that care for one's self, that desire of one's own well-being, that concern for one's best interests, that labor for one's own success, in a word, that striving to make the most of life which is here intended, is the very thing which the Bible takes as the rule and measure of our feelings and doings toward others: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor *as thyself*"—that is, just as far as the instinct of your nature prompts you to seek your own good, should your moral choice be to desire and promote the good of your neighbor. Every man has within him an instinct for happiness which is his constant motive to effort. If he perverts this to mere passing temporal good, and seeks his happiness solely in the things of this life, he sins against God. He should find his highest happiness in his Maker, who is the Supreme Good, and the source of all other

good. If his instinct for happiness is degraded to a mere animal passion and he seeks his good alone in physical pleasures, then he sins against himself; he abuses his body, and dishonors that spiritual nature which separates him from the brute and marks him for immortality. If again, while following his instinct of self-love in ways which are proper in themselves, and which tend to self-improvement not only in physical effects, but also in morals and in mind, one does this without thought or care for others—how they may get along, or whether they are helped or hindered by his doings, then he sins against his neighbor, and his lawful self-love is perverted to a mean and wicked selfishness.

But though selfishness in every form and every act must be condemned and should be put away, it would never do to crush out of man his instinctive desire of good. This would be to break the mainspring of human activity; to destroy all energy, all motive, all hope. The "Golden Rule," which is the one perfect law of equality and fellowship among men, points out how the instinct of self-love is to be made the rule and measure of practical good-will toward all mankind: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." That very instinct for happiness which

points to what we should like to have others do for our good should be shaped into an act of will toward others, to do the same for their good in the same circumstances. It is plain then, in the matter of work, that he who makes the most of himself, and who in the spirit of fairness and good-will does the most for himself, in so doing renders also the best service to the working means and products of society at large. The instinct of self-love planted by God in his nature, by a sound and healthy development blossoms into beneficence and yields the best fruits of industry to the sum total of productive labor. If working alone he does the best possible for himself, he does also his best for others. If working in partnership, in a Trades-Union, or in co-operation, he helps the common stock in the ratio in which he obeys the springs and motives of action which nature has planted within him. The workman who joins a Coöperative Society for the sake of being helped by it, will soon become worthless to the society and to himself; but he who enters the Society as a means of helping himself by more certain employment and a better command of the means of labor and the market for labor, will be a constant help to his associates. Let the workman, if he will, use the Trades-Union, or the Coöperative

Society as helps but never as supports to depend upon. He must depend always and only on himself. The realization of "All for Each and Each for All," is through "Every Man for Himself."

How then should the workman serve himself in order to get the highest benefit from his work, and at the same time to be of the greatest benefit to society?

1. First of all, the workman should be *industrious*. I do not refer at all to the hours of labor, for it is not necessary to industry that a day's work should be long or that extra work be done; but whatever a man's calling is he should enter into it with a will, should keep his mind upon it, and give to it the powers necessary for performing it in the best way. "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." The time to be given to actual work will be determined by the relation of the wages of labor to the cost of living, and also by a regard to health and to the means of improvement and of enjoyment which are to the taste of the workman or are within his reach. But in working hours he should work with diligence; not lazily nor irksomely, nor fretfully, nor with his mind on other things. The concentration of his powers of body and mind upon the thing which he is doing he will find to be

the secret of good work; and good work means success in his present calling, and promotion by-and-by to some higher place. No man has a right to complain of his lot, or of the times, or to call upon society to help him, until he has done all he can to help himself by industry and fidelity in the place and the calling where he is. And he who does this will seldom have cause to complain. The name of doing things well, the character for industry and fidelity, are the best recommendations to employment, the first steps to advancement. "The hand of the diligent maketh rich."

2. Next, in order to help himself, the workman should be *saving*. One of the hardest lessons of life, and especially of life in the United States, is systematic economy in little things. There is with many a foolish notion that economy is meanness; that to be a "good fellow" one must be free with his money, however little he may have of it. But in truth the spirit of generosity demands the practice of economy. One must save upon himself, that he may feel free to give to others. Recklessness is not generosity, and there is nothing noble in the character of a spendthrift. Indeed what is meaner than to be generous with other people's money; to run in debt for getting the name of a good fellow;

to starve one's family for the sake of treating comrades; to throw away the means of work and of living for a fortnight for one day's jollification with boon companions? Every workman knows that such free-and-easy living is folly. Let him first get something to stand upon himself, before he sets up to be the social leader of his set; otherwise he may some day come to beg of those to whom he now so wantonly gives.

But many are hindered from saving because it seems so "small" to lay aside a mere pittance from their earnings. Now here the whole secret is to *begin.* How much of life is made up of little things! He who saves ten cents a day will have laid by in a year more than thirty dollars. He who lays by fifty dollars, or only twenty dollars, in the first year, has already the foundation of independence and competence. The first interest money is his compensation for past economy and his encouragement and assurance for the future. His savings begin to multiply themselves, and his feeling of self-denial in saving soon loses itself in the confidence of a provision against anxiety and want. By saving, too, he becomes a capitalist, and can employ his own labor and the labor of others to the best advantage.

Economy is hindered also by the wasteful habits of ignorance and of poverty. The poor buy in small quantities and at dear prices, and often buy on credit, and therefore imprudently. Hence the coöperative store for the workman and the cooking-school for his wife will help to those lessons in household economy which are the very beginnings of domestic comfort, health, and prosperity. He who would be economical must take pains to learn how and where to save, and must never be ashamed or indisposed to save a *little.*

How much can be done in this way is shown by many well-attested facts, taken from the average class of workmen. Take, for instance, the following account of the actual progress upwards of a young mechanic, given by Mr. Robert Chambers.* This boy was an orphan, of little education, but of good habits; he served for seven years as apprentice to a master who was gradually ruined by intemperance. This sad example led him to resolve never to touch any kind of intoxicating drink. At 21 he got a place at 15*s.* a week. In the next year his wages were raised to 21*s.* a week. The first year he deposited in the bank for savings 5*s.* a

* See in Greg's "Mistaken Aims of the Artisan Class," p. 135.

week; the second year 11*s.* a week. By industry and fidelity he soon rose to be foreman with a salary of 30*s.* a week, from which he continued to lay by weekly savings in the same proportion. His savings began first of all in spending nothing at the alehouse. At 29 he married; at 40 he had a wife and six children to support, and yet had bought a piece of ground, built a house upon it, and had upwards of £200 on interest. See how, step by step, little by little, this was accomplished:

At the age of	24	he has	.....	£70
"	" 25	"	.....	102
"	" 26	"	.....	135
"	" 27	"	.....	170
"	" 28	"	.....	206

He now marries, and expends on furniture £40, reducing the amount at interest to £166; but his wages are now advanced to 25*s.* a week; his saving of 5*s.* a week and interest in one year amount to £21, which, added to £166, makes £187 when 29 years of age.

At 30 years of age he has £210; wages now 30*s.* a week; saves 10*s.* and interest; he has £237 at 31 years of age; at 32 he has £286; buys a plot of ground for £100; expends £150 in building his dwelling-house, so that he reduces his money at

interest to £36, saves his 10*s.* a week, and interest on £36—£27, 16*s.*, makes £63, 16*s.* at the age of 33.

At the age of	34	he has	.....	£93
"	" 35	"	.....	125
"	" 36	"	.....	155
"	" 37	"	.....	181
"	" 38	"	.....	207

He now expends the interest, and saves only 10*s.* per week.

At the age of	39	he has	.....	£233
"	" 40	"	.....	250

in addition to his house and garden.

This is by no means a selected case. It is a fair example of what may be done upon small wages, with sobriety, industry, and economy. The young workman who has the courage to begin to save will find himself at 40 independent of "times" and "strikes," and surrounded with reasonable comfort. In 1878, Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott visited the mining districts of Pennsylvania, and published a report of his observations in the "Christian Union." While he found many miners in actual want, he found others who had received the same wages the owners of little cottages with gardens, their families well clothed, their children at school,

and some even at college. The difference lay mainly in personal habits. The first class were thriftless and shiftless; they lived from hand to mouth, spending to-day and starving to-morrow. In the second class the men abstained from strong drink, the women knew how to cook and to sew, and both knew how to save.

Prof. Leon Levi of London is a well known authority upon statistics, a writer who always knows whereof he speaks, and who never exaggerates. In a letter published in the "London Times" for January 6, 1879, Prof. Levi showed that "even the average low wages of these hard times furnished an ample allowance for comfortable living, having regard especially to the average cheapness of every article of food and dress, as well as coal. Within the last twelve years our laboring classes have had opportunities of setting aside a considerable amount. In the ten years from 1866 to 1877 the deposits in the savings-banks had increased by more than £28,000,000; the amount held by friendly societies had increased by nearly £4,000,000. The total increase of both savings-banks and friendly societies in ten years was £32,143,000, or an average of £3,200,000 per annum. In no other country," adds Prof. Levi, "are the wages more liberal, but

in no other country are they more wastefully used than in the United Kingdom, and more especially in an excessive expenditure for eating, drinking, and smoking. A wiser and more economical appropriation of wages is the great want of the British working population."

I am sure that this is also true of workmen in the United States. The position of the workman at 40 will be pretty much what he himself determines by his habits of living and of saving at 20.

3. In order to be both industrious and economical, the workman must be *sober* and *virtuous*. It is not for one man to dictate to another what he shall eat and drink, or what pleasures he shall indulge in as a relief from toil. I am not speaking here as a moralist, but as an economist; and I maintain that the workman who would get the most satisfaction out of life, both in earning and in spending, must keep free from intemperance and from vice of every sort. There can be no satisfaction in a life which is always hovering on the verge of the almshouse through intemperance—or on the verge of the hospital or the insane asylum through other forms of vice. Statistics show that £70,000,000 sterling are spent by the workmen of England every year upon spirits and tobacco alone. Now no one will

pretend that intoxicating drinks are among the necessaries of life. No one will pretend that these minister to the health of him who habitually uses them. No one will pretend that the use of such drinks helps the workman in his work, tends to make him more acceptable to his employer, to render his home more comfortable, or in any way to improve his condition. This is a habit which he forms socially and keeps up as a pleasure.

Now by all means the workman should have society and pleasures. So far from begrudging him these, we would seek rather to multiply them and to encourage him in them. But pleasures that are at best only a low form of sensual indulgence, that tend to lower the workman to the stage of the animal, that keep his person untidy and his home uncleanly, that undermine his health and waste his substance—these his true friends should warn him against, these he himself should shun as deadly enemies. There are drinks which refresh without intoxicating; there are healthful games, sports, diversions which amuse without degrading. Let the workman help himself to subdue the baser passions of his nature, and to bring out tastes for higher pleasures.

Here emphatically society owes a duty to the

working population, and here Christians should show themselves foremost in providing for the healthful recreation of the poor. Public parks, with the attractions of zoological gardens, of good music, of innocent games and pastimes, museums of science and of history made intelligible to the plainest by labels and catalogues, galleries of art open for instruction, free libraries and reading-rooms—these should be provided, as far as possible, for every town and factory village. But it depends at last upon the workman himself whether these shall be a gain, or whether the time allotted for holidays shall be abused to his own destruction. Once on a Saturday afternoon I called upon a poor shop-woman, and found her crying bitterly. "Ah," she said, "this stopping work at noon on Saturday is ruining my husband. He used to come home Saturday night with all his wages, and we paid off everything for the week and had money laid by, and kept the Sunday together; now he goes off on a frolic, and comes home at midnight drunk, and his pockets empty." No good intentions of government, of capitalists, of society, can help the workman who will not help himself. The world is ready enough to help every man to a living who is willing to work and to save. But the world is not bound

to support anybody's vices. Your fellow-men will see that you do not suffer for want of bread, but they will not provide, they ought not to provide a glass of whiskey with your bread. If you are not man enough to be sober and virtuous, then you have no right to look to society for sympathy or support. Society will help the man who resolutely helps himself.

4. For this end the workman should be *studious.* In our times, in great cities, Paris, London, New York, through free libraries and popular writings, the whole field of knowledge lies open to any and every one who wishes to enter it. If the workman would profit directly by what is known and taught in his particular trade or manufacture, all sciences, arts, inventions are placed at his disposal. History and political science are there to teach him his place and his worth as a man. The fine arts offer their attractions, and music speaks at once to the ear, the mind, the soul. There is not one thing which contributes to the higher forms of culture which develop and adorn the man, from which he is shut out by his occupation or his poverty. On the contrary, there are many of the best means of culture, such as museums and galleries, to which he is freely invited *because* of these. Whatever branch

of study he may take up for his improvement will contribute not only to his personal enjoyment, but to his respectability in the scale of society and his advancement in his calling.

There are things which he especially ought to know; chief among these enough of philosophy to guide him in the proper care of his person and the right use of life. If a young man, he should learn that purity without and within is life and health to body and soul. If he would marry, he should learn in pure and proper ways the laws of family life which God has written in our nature; learn how to adjust the increase of his family to the means of living and to the health and happiness of his wife and children; learn, in short, how with proper care in all things to make the family a joy in and to all its members—a home and not a hospital—a lightening of life and not a burden and grief. Add to these that the workman should be *religious*, and we have summed up the moral conditions which promote and sustain his temporal well-being. By Religion I mean not sect, church, dogma, creed, form, but a life of loving obedience to our Father in heaven, and of loving devotion to Christ, our Teacher, Exemplar, Saviour, Friend. Such a spirit, such a life, is for every man his highest duty, and

should be to every man his highest delight. But I am now speaking of the bearing of religion upon the life and labor of the workman, and in this practical view I am confident that the religious spirit is a most valuable auxiliary to his means of work and his means of happiness.

1. A religious habit of life tends to keep the body in the best condition for labor. Religion includes within itself all moralities. Religion teaches temperance in all things, and creates for itself an atmosphere of purity and virtue. Hence religion is favorable to that bodily health which is so needful to constant and efficient labor.

2. Religion favors cleanliness and comfort. It teaches care of the body not only in abstaining from vices and abuses, but in keeping it sacred as the creation of God, "the temple of the Holy Ghost." Persons of a religious mind are disposed to be tidy in their dress, their habits, their homes, "having their hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and their bodies washed with pure water." Now a man works all the better for not being slovenly in his person or his dress. His work may soil his hands, his feet, his clothes; but if he is cleanly in his personal habits, if he comes at evening to a tidy home, eats from a clean table, sleeps in a clean

bed, and goes forth well-washed and combed to his work in the morning, he has a feeling of self-respect which no dirt of working materials can tarnish. He keeps up his own sense of decency within, and this saves him from the degradation that living in dirt would bring. The spirit of religion inspires this self-respect. We know Jeremy Taylor's story of the poor woman whose idea of heaven was "to sit in a clean white apron and sing psalms;" and the workman's wife and children welcoming him in clean white aprons make his home something of a heaven. If "cleanliness is akin to godliness," so godliness promotes cleanliness as akin to its own spirit. And cleanliness is of the essence of comfort. Indeed there is no comfort without it, while there is at least the appearance of comfort where all is sweet and clean.

3. Religion imparts to the mind a tone of cheerfulness which lightens labor and lessens care. Labor without thought or motive is drudgery. If behind the work of the hands there is a will to do, the manual labor itself is lightened. And if behind the will there is a spirit of life and hope, then the burden is turned to a song. Now this is the effect of the love of God in the heart. It brings with it "the peace of God which passeth all understand-

ing." The consciousness of the friendship of God, of the companionship of Christ, is a source of unfailing comfort and support when one begins to fancy that friends are few, and the times are hard, and the world is dark. The thoughts and feelings inspired by trust in God and by the habit of looking to God in prayer, lift one above his surroundings in life, and make these *relatively* of small moment to his happiness. Faith in God will invigorate and sustain him when outward cares and disappointments might crush him. He hears a voice within saying, "Be not anxious about what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, or wherewithal ye shall be clothed, for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things."

Religion does not teach one to neglect this life in the hope of a better life hereafter; but it makes the promise of a future life a reason for "using this world as not abusing it," for refusing to become the slave of circumstances, for overcoming the world by faith. Religion teaches us to pray for our daily bread, but teaches also that "man shall not live by bread alone." In everything religion exalts man's spiritual nature above the things that perish, the soul above the body, and by allying him in thought and feeling with that which is Highest and Best

in the universe, it gives him that true self-respect which makes him of the highest worth to himself and to society. He who has the character which comes of trust in God is most likely to win the trust of his fellow-men in himself. So true is it that "godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

CHAPTER XVI.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIETY.

THE workman needs religion; and Christianity is at hand as his advocate, his counsellor, his helper, his friend. No question between labor and capital has ever arisen, no social question can ever arise, which is not met by anticipation in the most just and sufficient way by the spirit and the teachings of the New Testament. The world acknowledges that there could be no higher rule of life than Christ laid down in his Sermon on the Mount. Those precepts are of universal and perpetual obligation. They were not formal rules for any one people, class, country, race, or time. They are inward principles for all mankind, and hence go behind all outward codes and customs, all forms of government and of society, and take hold of the heart which in every man is the seat of life and the source of good and of evil. These principles concern the feelings and doings of men toward one another in those conditions and relations which are common to all men simply as men. Hence society

can never outgrow them, nor could it possibly improve upon them.

These principles are practical, and have to do with a practical state of things. Demanding a state of heart, a spirit or feeling of justice and of love which shall show itself in just and kindly acts, the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount look to a direct practical effect in every man's life and conduct. If observed by all men they would produce that perfection of society which has so long been the ideal of philosophers and poets. These are not, however, a framework of society to be first put together and then set up in order for men to look at, to praise, and to enjoy, but they would create a good social state by making good men of the individuals who compose society. Hence there can be no pretext of waiting for "the good time coming," of waiting for laws, classes, governments to become better, but every man for himself should at once live by these rules of Christ and so make the good time within the immediate sphere of his influence. "The kingdom of heaven is within you."

Hence the brotherhood of human society contemplated by the Sermon on the Mount is practicable. A state code of laws is lengthy, and often

tiresome by the minuteness of its details. It fills volumes, and yet only small portions of it are applicable to any one individual at any one time. It needs to be interpreted by experts in law, and sustained and enforced by judicial decisions. Citizens at large do not attempt to govern their lives by it; they consult it in special cases, they feel it in individual instances of command or of restraint, but it does not stand in their memories as a model nor live in their hearts as a working power. But Christ's code of life is for every man in every part of it. All its specific rules grow out of one principle, which should live in memory and rule in the heart. "Jesus taught men how to make themselves blessed, simply by being and by doing that which they ought to be and to do—being that which every man can become, doing that which every man can perform."* The experience of eighteen centuries has shown that as a teacher Christ has provided for all the needs of the individual man and all the wants of human society. A world in which all men should be perfect in beneficence as their Father in heaven is perfect, and should love one another as themselves, would leave nothing to be desired.

* Jesus of Nazareth: His Life for the Young. By J. T. Thompson, page 193.

But what gives to these teachings of Christ their highest worth and power is the thorough human sympathy which pervades them. He himself exemplified this spirit of love in the lowliest conditions of life. Born of a humble virgin he grew up as the son of a carpenter, and knew all the privations of poverty. He himself was poor; his disciples were poor; he knew the wants, the trials, the oppressions of the poor, and he espoused their cause; but at the same time he showed them how to lead the higher, nobler life. He taught them to turn trials into mercies, curses into blessings, by the spirit of patience, of meekness, of forgiveness, by trusting in God's fatherly care, and by laying up treasures in heaven. At the same time he denounced covetousness, pride, the oppression of the poor, and threatened to these sins the severest judgments here and hereafter. The cardinal points of Christ's teaching as befriending the poor are: the value of man as the child of God and the heir of immortality; the care of God for the needy, the lowly, the oppressed; and the rule of justice and good will by which every man must live, who looks to happiness here and hopes for salvation hereafter.

The same teachings run through the New Testament in the letters and discourses of the apostles,

and in their lives and doings. Paul for instance, one of the noblest minds and largest natures the world ever knew, was himself a workman, and supported himself by tentmaking, while engaged in organizing that new Christian society which should renovate the world. Hence I repeat; Christianity is the best friend of the workman and the best instrument of social reform.

What then are the doctrines of Christianity touching the vital interests of labor and of society?

1. Christianity nowhere hints at the abolition of private property, but, on the contrary, sanctions the existence of property and sets forth the obligations of its possessors. Once at least the question of property was brought directly to Christ for settlement, and this in the hearing of an immense multitude who were disposed to look to him somewhat as an authority. "One of the company said unto him, Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me." Luke 12:13. Here was a splendid opening for denouncing property if Christ had looked on its possession as a sin. He might have said, "The property does not belong to either of you. You have not worked for it, did not earn it, cannot rightfully hold it. There is no right of inheritance. All that you have received

you should divide among your neighbors, or pay over to the state for the common good, or give to the poor." Something like this he would have said had he regarded the separate possession of property as unjust. But Christ said nothing of the kind. The acquisition of property, the holding of property, the division of property, the distribution of property, the transmission of property by inheritance—these all were questions of secondary concern, in comparison with the spirit of a man toward worldly goods: whether this were mercenary or liberal, whether he looked to riches as an end or only as a means, whether he looked upon himself as an owner or simply as a steward, whether he laid up treasure for himself, or by a wise and bountiful use of riches made himself "rich toward God." And so he said to his questioner, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?" Then turning to the multitude, he said, "Take heed, and beware of covetousness; for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." Then he gave them the parable of the foolish rich man, in which he warned men against hoarding riches, against trusting in riches, against being covetous or worldly-minded, and exhorts them to be liberal and part freely with their treasures for the sake of giving

alms. But in all this he did not say one word, and in all his recorded teachings we do not find one word, against having riches, nor against possessions and property as an injustice or wrong to others. Everywhere and always Christ condemned, not property, but the selfish use and the ungodly abuse of property as sin. "Take heed, and beware of *covetousness*." "How hard is it for them *that trust in riches* to enter into the kingdom of God." Mark 10: 24. The wisest Teacher, the best Friend the poor ever had, never spoke of property as their enemy, nor proposed to abolish property for their good.

Such is throughout the teaching of the New Testament with regard to property. There are sinful ways of getting property, sinful ways of using property, sinful ways of spending property, but the possession of property is never stigmatized as a sin. On the contrary, there are sins against property, which imply a right in property itself. It is a sin to covet the possessions of another; it is a sin to steal the goods of another. But if property itself is "robbery," if there is no right of possession, if all things of right belong in common to all men, then there can be no sin in wishing for and even in taking one's share of what another happens to have

in his possession. Yet Christianity denounces such acts as sins against man and God.

So, too, Christianity enjoins certain uses of property which it praises as virtues. He who has property is told to give to the poor. How can he *give* what is not his own? The rich man is told to *sell* of his possessions and give alms. But what right has he to sell anything which does not belong to him really and exclusively? And what merit is there in giving to the poor as alms what belongs to them of right as members of the community? There is no meaning either in the sins which Christianity denounces, or in the virtues which it praises in respect to property, unless property itself has a right to exist as a private personal possession. The New Testament not only recognizes the existence of private property as a fact, but sanctions it as a right.

2. Christianity gives no encouragement to mendicancy. Kindness to the poor it rates among the cardinal virtues, and in His marvellous picture of the judgment-day Christ marks as righteous and blessed those who have ministered to the hungry, the stranger, the naked, the sick, the prisoner; while those who have neglected these offices of love are alien and accursed. But though the care of the

poor is enjoined upon the rich as a duty and a virtue, the poor are never encouraged to look to the rich for their support. The church is to provide for the poor, but the poor are not to look to the church as a common almshouse. The duty of giving on one side does not argue a right to demand on the other. Christianity would not pauperize society through beneficence, but energize it by putting new life and promise into the industrial virtues. "If any will not work, neither should he eat." 2 Thess. 3 : 10. "Study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands." 1 Thess. 4 : 11. "Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." Rom. 12 : 11. The gospel comforts the poor, encourages them, bids them trust in God, who clothes the lilies and feeds the sparrows, but never tells them to hang upon others for support.

3. Christianity teaches the spirit of brotherhood, but nowhere advises a form of Socialism. Christianity works through character—seeks to produce a good social state through the virtues of the individual members of the community. It is a spirit and a life. Now Socialism would annihilate Christianity by rendering impossible the virtues which proceed from the spirit of Christianity. The

very essence of Christianity, as a practical and reforming power in society, is a voluntary spirit of benevolence ruling in the heart and prompting to all good and worthy deeds. If, now, these same outward acts are enforced by the laws of the state or the votes of the majority, they cease to be personal virtues or tests of character. If of my own free-will I give for the benefit of others my entire income above my necessary expenses, then am I indeed generous, charitable, unselfish, noble. Such acts manifest a character worthy of admiration and praise. But if the policeman comes and demands of me all my surplus income, by a law of the state or a vote of the community, to be paid into the common treasury, then, though the money should go to the same objects and produce the same results as before, this use of my money would manifest no virtue on my part. It no longer flows out of free-will; it is extorted by power. I may even hate the law which compels me to yield it and the officer who comes to seize it. The money wrung out of me may go with my curse upon robbers, instead of my blessing to receivers.

The mottoes of Christianity are, "It is more blessed to give than to receive;" "Freely ye have received, freely give." Everything is in the spirit

of free-will, of good-will — voluntary, hearty, unstinted beneficence. But this spirit cannot exist, these acts of good-will, of charity, of generosity, cannot be performed when Socialism rules: He who is forbidden to have anything as his own, can never *give* anything to another. He who is compelled to pay over all that he earns for the common use, can never practise charity, self-denial, nor any of the virtues which Christianity sets forth as at once blessing and blessed. Communism by law makes impossible that good-will toward men which is the Christian life, which makes the Christian paradise. For what is life? Work and food, food and work? "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Such is, indeed, the animal, atheistic life to which Communism would drag us down; but life is thought, life is love, life is home, life is friendship, brotherhood, humanity. Life, above all, is freedom to will, to do, to think, to love, to enjoy. This is the life which Christianity inspires. No enforced rules of servile obedience, but the free spirit of love to God, acting itself out in good-will to men. And this is the spirit and the life which the rule of Socialism would for ever quench.

4. Christianity teaches the poor man to rely solely upon himself and his Father in heaven. And this

is the best of all lessons, that dependence on God which makes a man strong in himself. Self-help is the law of Christianity, as the promise of Divine help is its gospel. Make the most of yourself on earth, seeing that your Father in heaven careth for you. To those who, under the delusive expectation of Christ's speedy coming, neglected business and set themselves up for exhorters, living on the church, Paul wrote, "We beseech you that ye study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands; that ye may walk honestly toward them that are without, and that ye may have lack of nothing." 1 Thess. 4:11, 12. To converts who had been of idle, irregular, and dishonest habits he said, "Let him that stole steal no more, but rather let him labor, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth." Eph. 4:28. Thus the moral duties enjoined by Christianity become economic virtues in the workshop, the factory, the home. Christianity seeks first of all, most of all, to lift up the man, to inspire him with confidence in himself and with trust in God; then it bids others help him because he is trying to help himself.

5. But, on the other hand, Christianity commands the rich to deal justly and kindly with the

poor, and utters the most terrific denunciations against wrong, violence, and oppression toward those who are in a state of dependence. "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." James 5 : 1–4. The parable of Dives and Lazarus points the contrast in the future between the rich who live in reckless disregard of the wants of their fellows, and the poor who in privation and misery maintain a steadfast faith in God. And the apostle Paul instructs the preachers of the gospel to "charge them that are rich in this world that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us all things to enjoy; that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate; laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time

to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life." 1 Tim. 6 : 1.

Thus, while toward the poor the Gospel is tender, compassionate, helpful, hopeful, its tone toward the rich is full of admonition—a constant summons to duty, to justice, to benevolence—a constant warning against covetousness, pride, luxury, and neglect of the poor. The rich are taught that they are stewards, that riches are a trust, that they must give account to God for their conduct toward the poor, that this is a test of character, and that this will fix their place in eternal life or in eternal damnation.

6. The spirit and teaching of the New Testament is that the Christian, as such, should be "ready to every good work," benevolent, charitable, philanthropic, and that the Church should be the perpetual model of fraternity, the perpetual agent of good-will among men. "Be ye followers of God as dear children ; and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savor. But fornication and all uncleanness, or *covetousness*, let it not be once named among you, as becometh saints." Ephes. 5 : 1–3. How nobly the Church has fulfilled these injunctions,

the history of Christianity bears witness. The foundations and institutions of piety and of humanity—schools, hospitals, asylums, houses of industry, of reform, and of refuge—the vast and various arrangements for the systematic relief of every form of human misery, the visitation of the sick, the care of infants and of orphans, the protection of the homeless, the succor of the outcast, the organization of charity as a function of human society, and the spontaneous charity which flows so freely at every call—how much of all this is the direct work of the Christian Church, or the spirit of Christianity acting upon individuals and the State. The Christendom of to-day attests the faithfulness of the Church to the poor. But it is not alone charity nor succor that the poor have need of; much more in these times do they require counsel and help in social economy. Not hospitals but homes, not gifts but guidance, not charity but coöperation, are the demand of modern life, and this emphatically from Christian men and in the spirit of Christianity. Now a mark of the permanent power of Christianity as a religious faith is seen in its flexibility of adaptation to modes of practical beneficence. In the spirit of love, one; in the forms of good-will, manifold. Christianity has but to know

the wants of Humanity, what they are, and how to reach them, and the inventive genius of love provides the means of relief. The progress of physical science and of political economy has opened new necessities to workmen and new methods for their improvement. And now that it is understood how essential are health and home to their well-doing, and how close is the relation between manners and morals, and especially between manly independence and temporal prosperity, Christian men are giving earnest attention to the organization of labor through colonies made attractive by the cheapness of land and of house-rent, and by the vicinity of schools and of railways; to coöperative societies for buying and selling, for saving, and also for building; and especially to improved homes for workmen in convenient localities and under the most favorable conditions, financial and sanitary.

In this last particular there has been a great advance in the past generation. Christians better understand that application of the Gospel which Christ made so prominent by addressing himself to the physical wants of men. It was by such works as these that Jesus certified himself to John the Baptist as the Messiah: "Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see: the blind

receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them." Mark 11:2–6. This aspect of Christianity is strongly set forth in the epistle of James: "What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? can faith save him? If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body; what doth it profit? Even so faith, if it hath not works, is dead." Jas. 2:14–18. Still there have always been Christians and churches which held more to keeping the faith than to doing the works, and who by consequence had more fear of secularizing Christianity than faith in Christianizing society.

Thirty years ago, after New York had been visited by cholera in the summer, I took occasion on the following Thanksgiving day to discourse upon the lessons of the pestilence. Instead of moralizing upon its commonplace lessons, I addressed myself to the neglect of the laws of health by the poor, and the general neglect by Christian people of the physical condition of the poor—that the churches

had given time and means disproportionately to Sunday-schools, mission-schools, tract and Bible distribution, and the relief of the poor by charity, leaving thousands to live under grasping, grinding landlords, in crowded and filthy tenements, the nurseries of vice, indecency, and disease, in which the seeds of truth could find no lodgment. The leprosy of sin was as much in the homes as in the hearts of the young, and the first cure was, "Go *wash* seven times and be *clean*." Model lodging-houses, model wash-houses, free public baths, flowers, gardens, parks, these were avenues to the gospel which had been neglected for strictly religious efforts among the poor. I stood in the old Broadway Tabernacle, within five minutes' walk of the then infamous "Five Points," and I asked, "Of what avail is it that you go there and drum up children for the Sunday-school, or draw those forlorn creatures to the church, when they must go back to those festering dens of iniquity, and know nothing but sin and misery through the week? Go purge their homes if you would reach their hearts. Give them light, give them air, give them water, give them work, give them homes, and you will be true missionaries to their souls." This appeal was widely reported in the secular papers; but religious newspapers

rebuked me for abusing the pulpit to secular ends, and advised me to preach the gospel and leave washhouses and lodging-houses to the disciples of Fourier!

Well, soon after, I had the satisfaction of seeing that work of improvement begun in the Five Points—that Christianity of the workshop and the washhouse which was fast reclaiming the district to decency and transforming it into a true field of evangelization, when the exigencies of business required it for streets, factories, and warehouses. And now, just as I am writing these lines there comes into my hands one of the most prominent religious journals of New York,* with an editorial announcement of a meeting of clergymen of all denominations for devising a plan for improving the dwellings of the poor. This meeting resolved "to invite all the pastors of the city to bring the subject before their respective congregations on the last Sabbath of the present month." In commenting upon this scheme of improved tenement-houses to be laid before the churches, the editor says:

"What for? What is to be done? What can be done? At first glance we might be ready to say it is one of those evils for which there is no outside

* "New York Observer," February 13, 1879.

cure: it must be left to take care of itself—to fester and rot till the end comes. But on closer inspection it is found to be within reach of a very moderate degree of philanthropy and a fair amount of commercial enterprise. It is not proposed to reform the present houses of the poor by turning the Croton in to cleanse them, or filling them with Bibles and tracts to convert them. It is proposed to make better homes for the poor, at a cost for rent within the means of the poorest, and by appealing to their own self-interest, draw them away from the squalor, vice, and wretchedness with which they are now surrounded, into the enjoyment of light, air, cleanliness, and comfort, all of which may be had at the same cost, or even less, than they now pay for the foulest surroundings and the deepest moral degradation. Four families of nineteen persons, of both sexes and various ages, living in one room, sleeping on the floor together, cannot be expected to cultivate all the cardinal virtues. But there are many such crowded rooms in this city every night. Three hundred human beings cannot be packed into such close quarters, under one narrow roof, without engendering disease, destroying every instinct of decency, and blasting all hope of happiness and usefulness.

"What can be done? Our fellow-citizens who are seeking investment for their capital can find in this direction a profitable field for enterprise and thrift. Each church might put forth its enlightened energy in this direction, and make homes for the poor."

And this is urged by the plea that "these all are men and women for whom Christ died." This movement is earnest and full of promise. Places and plans have already been sought for the proposed buildings, and from the character of the gentlemen who have the matter in charge it is certain to be carried out successfully.

This is not the first time that houses for the accommodation of workmen have been built by philanthropists with due regard to comfort, health, and economy. But a great progress is marked by the fact that what I was denounced for preaching as a Christian duty thirty years ago, is now taken up as matter for preaching in all pulpits, and as a duty of the enlightened church toward souls for whom Christ died. Christian philanthropy is thus directed toward a wise social economy. In these thirty years the population of New York has increased from less than 500,000 to more than a million. From the lay of the city and the encroachments of

business upon dwellings with every increase of population, it is more and more difficult for workmen to find lodgings near their work for which they can pay rent from their wages. The hard times of the last five years have made it harder and harder for workmen to live at all. Hence the church has become enlightened as to its obligation to care for the physical condition of the poor, as a means of their moral culture, as an expression of Christian faith and love. This movement is not a charity, yet it is prompted by the highest, broadest faith and charity. It is that bearing one another's burdens which best fulfils the law of love. This co-operation of the church with society by helping men to help themselves, by enabling them on easy and safe terms to provide themselves with homes, with the necessaries of life, with accessory comforts and recreations for their wives and children, is the best Socialism that could be devised. Let Christians individually be just and liberal in their dealings with all whom they employ, kind and helpful in their intercourse with men of every condition; and let Christians collectively not only provide with systematic largeness and wisdom for the needy, but far better, make the comfort and happiness of the poor their own by cooperating with them for their

personal and domestic welfare in a way to promote self-reliance and substantial independence, and society will need no other solution of the strife between Labor and Capital, no other rule of liberty, equality, fraternity.

May God speed that day!

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORKMAN IN AMERICA.

IT is a pleasure to believe that there is a Paradise, to see the direction in which it lies, to catch now and then a glimpse of it, and to know that the view is real and not a mirage of the desert, though the scene is far distant and the way long and rugged. And even though we may not ourselves hope to reach the promised land, it is a satisfaction to be moving toward it, to be warned against false and dangerous ways, and to have the assurance that our successors shall at last reach the goal.

It is also a satisfaction to know that with all the drawbacks and discomforts of the present, there has been a great advance upon former times in the average condition of society in respect to the means of living, and to the comforts and enjoyments of life. History has faithful rebukes for a carping and complaining spirit. True we have our experience of hard times. But there have been hard times before ours, and harder than any we have been

called to endure. Every reader of history is familiar with Macaulay's famous description of the England of two hundred years ago: "times when noblemen were destitute of comforts the want of which would be intolerable to a modern footman, when farmers and shopkeepers breakfasted on loaves the very sight of which would raise a riot in a modern workhouse, when men died faster in the purest country air than they now die in the most pestilential lanes of our towns, and when men died faster in the lanes of our towns than they now die on the coast of Guinea."* Such details as Macaulay gives us show not only that since the settlement of America there has been a steady and substantial progress in society at large, but that the plain people have had the more especial benefit of that progress. The workman of to-day is far better fed, clothed, housed than were men of his standing a hundred years ago, while in respect to means of education, improvement, and enjoyment, he is in advance of the wealthy of former generations. Society exists no longer for the few but for the many. Such being the tendency of modern society, it is a practical question and personal to every man, How much farther in this direction can society go,

* "History of England," Chap. 3.

and what improvements may the workman look for in the future?

But first see what immense advantages are already secured to the workman in the United States. Here no advance is possible in political freedom. It is conceivable that in certain details there might be more absolute political freedom in a pure democracy than is possible under a representative system of government. But pure democracy is impossible on a territory so large as the United States; and the highest political liberty is secured by a representative government which rests directly upon the suffrages of the people. That wild, ignorant, irresponsible democracy of which Socialists dream, would but revive the tyranny of the French Convention.

And as with political liberty, so with the higher and more sacred freedom of the individual. Here is liberty of thought, liberty of speech, liberty of conscience, liberty of action, in every way and to any degree not incompatible with the peace and order of society. If customs or conditions impose upon any undue restraints, the remedy is at hand in an appeal to public opinion, and to that power of suffrage which is equal in the hands of all. The beauty of a free government is, that it is at once flexible

and strong. Strong in the support of law and order, without which no man can be free; flexible in the forms and ways in which it adapts itself to the will of the people, and adopts such changes as experience dictates for the good of all. We have seen already in Chapter IX., that the regulation or the support of labor by government—with the limited exceptions there made—is contrary to the first principles of free society, and would mark, not progress, but retrogression. "Progress" is the favorite watchword of reformers, and where the end is good progress should be the endeavor of every man for himself and for society. But not all change is progress; not all movement is progress; indeed when the best end has been reached, movement in any direction must be away from that end to something worse. The highest possible end for man as a citizen has been reached in that personal freedom which is secured to him under the government of the United States. To put his labor or himself under the dictation of government would be a step backwards toward servitude and barbarism.

But there is a road to progress, free, open, and full of hope, through the enlightened organization of Labor, and the more extensive and equitable co-operation of Capital with Labor. Organization

which is free, coöperation which is voluntary, keeps alive individual activity and enlarges its sphere while augmenting its power through the wisdom and the strength of numbers. This field is just opening to the workman, and in the United States its sphere is at once vast and free. So long as every man is left free to join a coöperative society and to withdraw from it without molestation or compulsion, we may safely hope for vast and solid gains to the workman through the experience of common aims for the good of each and of all.

What madness, then, for the workman to throw away these grand realities for the dream of a social state which could begin only by destroying both political and personal freedom! There could be no political freedom where everything concerning the life of the citizen was in the iron grasp of the State. There could be no personal freedom where every man was obliged to live and labor by rules imposed upon him from without. Those who fancy that such a society would be paradise can try it in the workshop of any penitentiary. The progress of society lies not in multiplying arbitrary restraints, nor in increasing the power of the State over the individual, but in teaching and learning the wise use of liberty.

Liberty, not Legislation, is what Labor needs. But Society must see that the workman has fair play. Society must free labor from the incumbrances of monopoly, of class legislation, and, above all, of vicious and chronic pauperism. Every able-bodied mendicant who is a pauper through indolence or drunkenness must be brought to the alternative of finding or accepting work, or of doing enforced work in the common jail. This is simple justice to the honest poor and to all who are concerned in the work of production. And this, too, is the only fair application of the principle of Communism. The idle and vicious propose to live upon Society, to be supported by the gifts and the taxes of honest industry. Society therefore has the right to set them at work to meet the cost of their living. When the State shall deal thus resolutely with paupers, tramps, and drunkards, the workman's millennium will begin to dawn.

But Society must begin a reform within itself. The lessons of misfortune, the teachings of the pulpit and the press, and the chastened influence of public opinion, must do the first stern work of toning down luxurious and extravagant habits of living. Luxury and extravagance are not necessarily a financial damage to the community. Of

themselves they *may* pay their way by the work they give to many arts and trades. But they do damage to the community by engendering wasteful habits in the many who cannot afford self-indulgence, and in diverting men, mind, and money from the work of useful production. Luxury is a relative term, and is often used without cause as a term of reproach. For instance, I lately saw the queen of England denounced for spending so much money upon the marriage of her son the duke of Connaught, when so many poor were out of employment. But if the queen had wished to help the poor, what should she have done? have given them charity? or given them work? Now in fact the marriage festivities at Windsor gave work to hundreds for many days, and by visitors and by various outlays brought large sums of money to the town. And so it often happens that what the poor denounce as luxury proves a serviceable outlay upon themselves. There is, however, a style of living which is foolish, wasteful, and wicked, which tends to the destruction of property and the demoralization of society. Against such living the American people, warned by the experiences of recent times, should set themselves with republican simplicity and with Christian honesty.

The industrial and moral tendencies of American society must hereafter be, and surely will be, more and more toward the improvement of condition. The conquest of territory is achieved; the rush of immigration for land and gold will give place to the steady occupation of the soil, by the laws of nature and of trade. The fever of speculation, brought on by the artificial currency and the unnatural demands of war, will be calmed; the rage for rapid acquisition will give place to healthy, honest industry; and this general tone of moderation will favor permanence of employment and of recompense to all who are able and willing to work. And society must, and assuredly will, seek more and more to unify itself—to identify all classes and all interests with an improved moral condition. That excessive devotion to material things which has just now collapsed in a time of universal pressure and distress, has warned us that the decline of morality is a deadly peril to liberty. We must see to it that vice and crime are dealt with promptly and sternly; and especially that crimes against property, public and private—theft, fraud, forgery—which have so demoralized society, shall be visited with the utmost rigor of the law and the utmost force of public opinion; and when such crimes are committed against

the poor, as in frauds upon savings-banks and in trust and insurance companies, the penalty should be doubly swift and sure. Hereafter we must care less for things than for men, less for inventions and improvements than for character, less for progress than for condition, and this a condition in which the whole body politic shall feel that its health, its safety, its prosperity, are bound up with the moral welfare of every individual member.

Society must watch over the education of each and all—compulsory education for all in the rudiments of knowledge; cheap optional education for industrial callings, and in the technical knowledge of arts and sciences; training-schools which shall fit men to make a living and women to make a home; and above all, education in those principles of political economy, and those fundamental laws of morality, by which alone a Republic can be maintained. To neglect the obvious rules of health and of morals, and then to atone for the breach of these by sudden outbursts of reform and spasmodic profuseness of charity, is a social economy of which we have had quite enough in the United States. We cannot remove social evils nor relieve great social wants by the very methods that have brought these upon us. Communities, like individuals, must obey

the laws which God has written in our nature. Society must care first and last for its own moral condition.

To the spirit of individuality and of independence, so necessary for the industrial and political life of the nation, must be joined the spirit of brotherhood, no less essential to the moral development of the community. The great duty of the church—I had almost said its *one* duty—so far as this life is concerned, is to make that spirit living and practical, as the presence of Christ himself in the hearts and the homes of men. And surely that Republic is of little worth which boasts for all its citizens an equal chance in life, yet does not make them feel an equal bond of sympathy as brothers in the human family. In these United States we have already all the opportunities, material and industrial, and all the principles, political and moral, which are required to produce a Society in which every man shall feel that honest work brings him an honest support, that an honest life makes him, in the respect and confidence of his fellows, the equal of every other, that in times of need every neighbor is his friend, that in all public acts and measures the whole community cooperate for his welfare, and that those inequalities of condition and of circum-

stances which lie in the very nature of things serve to bring out those richer virtues and amenities of life which cement the ties of human brotherhood. Here the best economy of life and the true spirit of republicanism coincide with the Golden Rule of Christianity. Let the workman himself, and every member of that community of which he is an integral and an honorable part, make this Rule his life, and all that society can do for man, or man for society, will be realized to the workmen of America.